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ABSTRACT

Conducted as a research project in vocational education under Part C of Public Law 90-576, the primary goal of this study was to develop and test a model for the study of the process of job creation, job training, and job placement in the community context. Personal interviews with community leaders, agency representatives, and major employers in the four study communities were conducted by the author, using the key informant technique with 84 community leaders in order to gather information about the manpower development process from their perspectives. This case study approach was found to be useful in studying the interrelationships between job creation, job training, and placement efforts in the community context. The two communities with the largest employment levels also were characterized by greater ease of placement and greater reported use of training agencies by employers. Efforts to coordinate job training programs were found in all but one city. Job training diversity varied from city to city. The overlapping nature of leadership in some areas made program coordination easier. A series of 10 recommendations points up changes needed in current manpower development practices, specifically those involving vocational and technical education. (AG)

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Research Project in Vocational Education
Conducted Under
Part C of Public Law 90-576

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August 10, 1972

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Research Project in Vocational Education, conducted under Part C of Public Law 90-576

The project reported herein is being performed utilizing funds made available to the State of Mississippi under provisions of Part C of Public Law 90-576 administered by the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

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SUMMARY OF REPORT

A. Time Period Covered: July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1972

B. Goals and Objectives

The primary goal of this study was to develop and test a model for the study of the process of job creation, job training, and job placement of the community context. Three research objectives were stated:

1. To describe and compare the four study communities with respect to current and past efforts in job creation, job training, and job placement.
2. To identify and elaborate certain key issues regarding each phase of the manpower development process and the articulation and functioning of the total process.
3. To compare the study communities with respect to the kinds of efforts and actions taken in response to the issues identified in Objective Two.

C. Proceedures Followed

The original design of this study called for a survey of all training programs operating in every county in Mississippi and the enrollment in each. Chamber of commerce officials in 104 communities were contacted via mailed questionnaires which asked for data on the extent and nature of coordination between the training programs in their communities. They were also asked to evaluate the effectiveness of job training programs in meeting local community needs. Returns from these questionnaires were inadequate in both number (approximately 31 percent) and information (many

were incomplete in whole or in part) to conduct the kind of survey study originally intended. What was suggested by the inability of so many community leaders to speak with knowledge on job training efforts was the need for in-depth research of the process of job creation, job training, and job placement. The configuration of these efforts was termed the manpower development process and the case study technique was utilized to study it.

The chief source of data was personal interviews with community leaders, agency representatives, and major employers in the four study communities. The interviews were conducted over a period of five months during which the author spent a minimum of one week in each community conducting interviews in the communities, attending meetings of relevant groups, analyzing newspaper content, and engaging in participant observation. The key informant technique was used to guide the interviewing procedure.

Chamber of commerce or community development association officials were asked to provide the names of individuals in the community who, by virture of their community leadership positions or by agency affiliation, were knowledgeable about the various phases of the manpower development process. A total of 84 informants in the four communities provided information about the manpower development process from their perspectives.

Three interview schedules were used in gathering the data. One, called a General Schedule, was administered to everyone interviewed. In addition to the general schedule, two supplements designed to elicit more detailed information on agency programs and employer needs and program usage were administered

to agency representatives and employers. All interviews were conducted by the author and ranged in length from 30 minutes to more than four hours, depending in large part on whether or not a supplement was administered. The modal interview length was approximately one and one-half hours.

D. Results; Accomplishments

The two communities with the largest employment levels also were characterized by greater ease of placement and greater reported use of training agencies by employers. Both of the communities' job creation efforts were quite obviously the outgrowth of well articulated rationales, or strategies. In Coastal City development emphases have been on blue-chip, water-related industry. Rapid increases in these jobs have not been accompanied by concomitant increases in sales and services and in jobs requiring lower skill levels. Growth in Hill City has been more gradual and more comprehensive. As a result, occupational diversity has been greater in terms of skill requirements and industrial types.

In terms of leadership activities, Hill City and Camellia City exceeded the other communities in the involvement of the same key leaders in both job creation and job training efforts. The overlapping nature of leadership in these communities contributed to the finding that such efforts were more highly coordinated than in Coastal and Delta Cities.

Efforts to coordinate job training programs were found to exist to some extent in all but Coastal City. As indicated above, coordination in Hill and Camellia Cities was largely the result of overlapping memberships on advisory boards and committees. A committee

sponsored by the local chamber of commerce in Delta City had been charged with attempting to bring voluntary coordination. The committee had not been active long enough to have produced significant results.

Job training diversity was greater in Delta and Coastal Cities than in Hill and Camellia. Diversity in Coastal City was geared to meet the training needs of industry. The greater number of programs in Delta City was geared to meeting the needs of the unemployed and underemployed. The primary role of training in Hill and Camellia Cities was that of providing up-grading training for local employees and employers.

E. Evaluation

The model used to study the complex nature of manpower development was found to be quite useful in studying the relationships between job creation, job training, and placement efforts in the community context. It provides a format whereby various community factors which have great relevancy for manpower development may be studied. It also allows for the consideration of other phases of manpower development. Suggested modifications of the model are included in the body of the report.

F. Conclusions and Recommendations

The recommendations which follow are based on the results and conclusions summarized above and are expanded in the body of this report. These recommendations point up changes needed in current manpower development practices, specifically those directly involving vocational-technical education. In some cases the generic term "job

training agencies" is used to point up the need for all such efforts to be altered in a specified way. These recommendations are given more elaboration in the final chapter of the report.

1. Job training agencies must come to know each other and be aware of each other's service offerings.
2. Members of the so-called "power structure" must be aware of job training programs in the community and what they are doing.
3. Increased efforts should be made at including community leaders and major employers on advisory and executive committees and boards.
4. Formal evaluation procedures of secondary and post-secondary vo-tech centers should include a well-conceived section requesting information from local employers.
5. Advisory and craft committees must be given more responsibility than is currently the case.
6. Administrative and fiscal flexibility at the local level should be maximized.
7. Training should be available in the skills needed most in a locale, even if these are on a restricted list.
8. Courses should be sufficiently flexible in scheduling to allow for easy entry and exit throughout the year.
9. Job training agencies operating in areas of low employment levels must do a more thorough job of defining their roles in the community.

10. Upper-level administrators of vocational education should be encouraged to finance more interdisciplinary research, symposia, and other learning experiences.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of manpower development. In an era of rapid developments in occupational structure and of concentrated attacks on the effects of unemployment and underemployment this subject is of tremendous significance. Technological change has rendered many occupations obsolete and has increased the skill level required for many others. Changing occupational requirements have resulted in unemployment for those forced out of the occupational structure and in underemployment for those whose skills are insufficient to meet the higher demands of the better jobs. To meet the training needs of the people suffering the ill-effects of occupational change and, concomitantly, to meet the skill requirements of the emergent industrial structure, a number of programs and agencies have evolved over a period of several years which provide these services.

The efforts aimed at providing jobs for those who need them and at filling the jobs which need workers will be termed the manpower development process. The phases of this process include the creation of jobs, job training, and job placement. Difficult even in periods of relative stability, the process is even more difficult in times of rapid change in types and numbers of jobs.

The manpower development process is best seen as an integral part of the comprehensive development process at the national, regional, state, and/or community levels. The nature of the term "comprehensive" implies that all the elements, or interest areas, necessary to sustain and improve social life are included in the developmental process.

For example, developmental efforts in job creation, job training, and job placement must be coordinated with the efforts of governmental units, with other education and welfare efforts, and with economic development activities if such efforts are to make their maximum positive impact. Many other examples might be cited. These suffice to indicate the context within which manpower development as a generic concept is to be used in this thesis.

More specifically, manpower development is to be viewed in this thesis as an integral part of the developmental process at the community level. It is at the local level that the problems of finding jobs for the unemployed and underemployed as well as of meeting the occupational needs of an expanding economy are felt most acutely by specific and readily identifiable people. It is also at this level that the many legislative acts and bureaucratic edicts are translated into programs in which such people receive the training needed to successfully fulfill their occupational roles.

Community Development

The Community

An adequate discussion of what is entailed in development requires an adequate definition of what is being developed -- in this case, the community. There is rather general agreement that community is actually many things. Hillery (1955), Brokensha and Hodge (1969), and Kaufman (1959) are among the many writers who have explicitly defined the community in terms of more than one attribute or element.

Many others implicitly do so. The definition by Wilkinson (1968:9) most succinctly expresses this multiplicity of elements:

> Community is a place where people live, but it is also a cultural configuration, a field of collective action and a phenomenological experience of the individual.

Such a definition allows for a view of development which entails the context within which change occurs and the individuals affected by such change. It also speaks to effects of change on the individuals experiencing it and to the action processes by which change occurs.

As will be seen, each of these four are crucial dimensions of development. Other elements and aspects of the community relevant to the focus of this study are articulated in Wilkinson's article as well as others in the series of publications dealing with the field notion of community.[1] Among the community variables explicated in these publications which are most relevant to the present study are leadership structure, coordinative structures, and coordinative actions.

Community Development

Like the concept community, community development has been defined in terms of different emphases. In 1954, the British Colonial Office offered a working definition of community development which, in essence if not in exact verbiage, is quite similar to many others before and after it:

> Community development is a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and on the initiative of the community.

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[1] See the bibliographic citations for Harold F. Kaufman et al. and Kenneth P. Wilkinson.

Likewise, Nelson and others (1960:418) define as one of the aspects of community development:

> . . . purposive change from a less to a more desirable state . . . rational direction of structure toward goals implicit in the (local) value system.

Elsewhere Ross (1967:7-8) describes the celebrated United Nations definition as perhaps the "most widely accepted":

> The term "community development" designates the utilization under one single programme of approaches and techniques which rely upon local communities as units of action and which attempt to combine outside assistance with organized local self-determination and effort, and which correspondingly seek to stimulate local initiative and leadership as the primary instrument of change.

The latter definition deals more with the "how" of development -- that is, the combination of external aid and self-help in the stimulation of local initiative and leadership. The former two emphasize the goals of development. In none of the three is it clear whether the desired change is structurally-oriented or not.

A similar problem exists in the definition of community development provided by Sanders (1964:315) in which he states: "One obvious meaning of community development is that it occurs <u>in</u> or to a community" (emphasis not in original). Wilkinson (1971:6) and Kaufman (1959; 1967), however, have drawn important distinctions between what they term development <u>in</u> the community and development <u>of</u> the community. The former, they contend, refers to that development normally treated as technological growth and modernization and which treats the community merely as a <u>context</u> within which change occurs.

The latter type of development calls attention to the integrative structures in the local society. It refers to the type of comprehensive

development alluded to earlier and stresses the need for viewing the relations between manpower development and education, health, welfare, religion, government, and other interest areas in the community. Comprehensive development requires both structural differentiation and coordination among interest areas for the provision of services to local people. Purposive action aimed at differentiation and coordination of community structures has been termed by Wilkinson (1970) as "community development." It is this context within which manpower development is to be studied in this thesis.

Manpower Development Process

Following this definition, many action processes within the local society might be defined as integral elements of community development. An example of such actions might be the establishment and maintenance of a comprehensive organization to sponsor and coordinate community action projects. Another example might be the total effort involved in creating occupational opportunities in the community, training persons for obtaining satisfactory employment, and facilitating the movement of people into and within the occupational structure. This latter process provides the focus of this paper and as stated above will be referred to as the manpower development process.

While generally used by economists in a more limited sense than is the case here, the concept of manpower development has been used to refer to the broader context by Hallman (1972:2) who describes manpower development programs as those aimed at:

> . . . preparing individuals for employment opportunities, placing them in jobs, and providing additional jobs through public service employment when other employment opportunities are insufficient.

Hence, as defined by Hallman manpower development is seen as entailing the three phases or elements of job creation, job training, and job placement. Each of these elements is briefly defined as it will be employed herein.

Job Creation

The creation of occupational opportunities in the local community is the outcome of efforts at industrial expansion and the associated expansion of sales and services. In the analyses to be presented in Chapter Three, job creation will be described primarily in terms of occupational structures and changes in those structures. Change is seen in terms of total numbers of employed and in types of occupations in which they are employed. Because of the fact that such changes in community structure mirror similar changes in the larger society, data depicting the national, regional, and state situations will be used to set the context within which job creation at the community level has occurred. Beyond these descriptive aspects of job creation, there are other aspects of job creation which are crucial in the community development framework. Among these are the developmental rationale giving impetus to the creation of jobs, the community actors most active in job creation, and the coordination of job creation with other processes of community development. Each of these will be treated as issues in the developmental process.

Job Training

The process by which people are provided the necessary skills and manipulative techniques to acquire increasingly better jobs is one of

great complexity. The term, occupational socialization, will be discussed later in describing the totality of the process. Descriptively, the process will be presented in Chapter Four in terms of the various job training programs and agencies operating in the communities and the numbers of people participating in them. Because the majority of these agencies are local offices of larger bureaucracies, their development in the national context will be traced preceding the descriptions of the community situations. In addition to the descriptive aspects, other aspects of importance in the job training phase of the manpower development process include (1) those actors most active in job training, (2) the coordination of training programs and agencies among themselves and with other aspects of the community, and (3) the relevance of the job training efforts to the needs of the community. These issues will be examined in the developmental context.

Job Placement

This final phase represents the culmination of the efforts of the first two phases. Jobs, once created, must be filled. Training, once completed, must find fruition in satisfactory employment. This phase is descriptively treated in Chapter Five in terms of approximations of placement rates from training programs and in terms of reported hirings by employers. Others of importance in terms of community development are (1) the problematic nature of placement in tight labor markets, (2) the role of training in such cases, and (3) the major impediments to placement of job trainees as perceived by various groups in the community.

Each of the above elements of manpower development has been extensively treated in the literature of labor economics, vocational education, labor management, vocational guidance counseling, and industrial development. The chief limitation of the majority of this literature is that with few exceptions the focus has been limited to such an extent that only one (or, in some few cases two) of the integral elements is treated. For example, the industrial development literature basically covers the problems of industrial expansion, plant site development, and industrial zoning; little concomitant attention is paid the relationship between industrial development and other facets of community life.[2] Likewise, vocational educators have thoroughly documented (if not completely solved) the problems associated with program administration, curriculum development, and "image" change and management. With few exceptions, however, placement, community-education and industry-education relations, and associated broader viewpoints have been either ignored or inadequately treated.[3]

In short, there is a dearth of literature which coherently articulates the relationships which exist between the phases of manpower development and which relate manpower development to other interest

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[2]Notable exceptions to this generalization are found in Form and Miller (1960); Florence (1969); Miller (1969); Moore (1951; 1962; 1965); Ullman (1953); and Czarnecki (1968). The fact that many of these publications are by authors not from economic development backgrounds (e.g., sociology) underscores what has been said.

[3]For notable exceptions to this statement see, among others Burt (1966; 1967); Burt and Lessinger (1970); Burt and Striner (1968); Cohen (1969); Anderson and Bowman (1965); Champagne (1970); Goff (1969). It should be noted that many of those cited are not by vocational educators.

areas of the community. The contention in this paper is that such articulation can be most effectively accomplished by utilizing a conceptual model which allows for integrating the study of manpower development with overall community development. The model to be developed in this thesis is designed to accomplish this purpose.

Three major threads will be used to tie the analyses of job creation, job training, and job placement together in the model. First, data will be utilized to describe and to make cross-community comparisons of what has happened in the communities with respect to the three phases of manpower development. Secondly, the extent and nature of involvement of local leaders in manpower development in the communities will be analyzed. Finally, a series of issues in each of the three phases will be analyzed to provide insight into the degree to which actions are rationally oriented toward community needs.

Problem Statement and Research Objectives

The major problem of this thesis will be the development of an heuristic model for studying the complex nature of manpower development as an integral phase of community development and to utilize the model in studying the process in four non-metropolitan Mississippi communities. The focus in many of the following analyses, thus, will shift periodically from theory to data and back again as the model is alternately developed and applied.

Research Objectives

1. To describe and compare the four study communities with respect to current and past efforts in job creation, job training, and job placement.

2. To identify and elaborate certain key issues regarding each phase of the manpower development process and the articulation and functioning of the total process.
3. To compare the study communities with respect to the kinds of efforts and actions taken in response to the issues identified in Objective Two.

Significance of the Research

The major significance of this thesis is the attempt at conceptually linking the facets of manpower development in such a way that propositions and hypotheses might be produced which would be of interest to interdisciplinarians of various persuasions. Further, spin-off action implications should be produced which might be useful to community development leaders, as well as to functionaries of the various agencies and organizations involved in the manpower development process.

Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized in six chapters. The first has presented a brief statement of the conceptual focus and frame of reference of the study. The second chapter describes the sources of data and the methods by which they are to be used in the analyses. Chapter Three describes and compares the efforts at job creation in the four study communities; also, the key issues involved in job creation are elaborated and analyzed. The organization of Chapters Four and Five is similar to that in Chapter Three, except that the focus shifts to the efforts and issues concerning job training and

job placement, respectively. The final chapter reviews and summarizes the findings of the study and draws implications for theory, research, and action.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA

Method of Study

The case study approach was selected as the method of study used in this thesis. This selection was based on two primary factors. First, because an early survey attempt in this project[1] at obtaining data on the coordination of the job training effort in many communities throughout Mississippi proved inadequate. Secondly, the case study method incorporates certain features which made it uniquely suited for this type of study.

In the earlier attempt, questionnaires were mailed to officials of all 104 chambers of commerce in Mississippi requesting the following information on job training efforts in their communities: (1) number and kind of programs in operation; (2) degree of coordination among programs; and (3) planned efforts at ensuring program coordination. These officials were polled for this information because of their unique position at the decision-making center of community life.

Approximately 31 percent (32 of 104) of the questionnaires were returned -- many of which were incomplete in whole or in part. Some officials were quite knowledgeable about the programs operating in their communities but the majority possessed insufficient knowledge to afford a satisfactory appraisal of the variables on which the data were sought. This rather general lack of knowledge about the process under study raised a serious question concerning the

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[1]This study was conducted under a research grant funded by the Mississippi Department of Education, Division of Vocational and Technical Education, Jackson, Mississippi.

suitability of the survey method to this type of study, especially in its formative stages.

This unsuitability of the survey leads directly to the second consideration on which the selection of the case study approach was based. In summarizing the chief assets of this latter method as employed in sociological research, Goode and Hatt (1952:340) state:

> . . . for preliminary research in any field, most investigators will use some form of the case study; and for the purpose of group or process analysis (emphasis in original), as against the analysis of individual traits alone, it is a highly fruitful approach, as yet insufficiently exploited by those who are currently doing research into research techniques.

Further, Goode and Hatt point up the unique contributions of the case study approach in comprehending and maintaining the "unitary character of the social object being studied." They cite three ways by which wholeness of the cases under study is preserved. Each is relevant in this study.

First, the case study design facilitates gathering a broad range of data about the social phenomenon under study. A minimum of 30-35 hours of interview time in each community was spent with key actors in the manpower development process. In addition data from agency files, the census, previous studies in the communities, and other sources added to the breadth of data analyzed.

Secondly, the wholeness of cases, according to Goode and Hatt, is maintained through the use of data from other than purely sociological levels of abstraction. One of the principal issues to which this thesis is addressed is the need for incorporating data and the viewpoints of economics, vocational and manpower education, community

sociology, and other levels of abstraction. Data from these levels are incorporated in the analyses which follow.

Finally, Goode and Hatt contend that the wholeness of the social unit is preserved through the formation of indices and typologies. This form of data analysis and presentation is used extensively in the chapters which follow.

Data Collection

Two types of data are of importance in this study -- primary and secondary. United States Bureau of the Census statistics and Mississippi State Employment Security Commission data were collected to indicate developmental trends in the communities in this and the next chapters. Secondary data were also obtained from the state offices of the various agencies involved in the process of occupational socialization. These data will be used in Chapter IV in describing the occupational socialization agencies operating in the study communities. Also, content analysis of newspapers, agency records and publications, and previous studies in the communities provided valuable secondary data.

The primary data were gathered in several manners. First, the researcher participated with local leaders in one of the communities in preparing a brief survey instrument for obtaining data from local employers about their source(s) of trained employees. Data from these questionnaires were available for analysis, and in a very limited way will be utilized.

The chief source of primary data was personal interviews with community leaders, agency representatives, and major employers in

the four study communities. The interviews were conducted over a period of five months during which the author spent a minimum of one week in each community during which time he conducted interviews in the communities, attended meetings of relevant groups, analyzed newspaper content, and engaged in participant observation. The key informant technique was used to guide the interviewing procedures. According to Tremblay (1957:688) the key informant technique is:

> ... preeminently suited to the gathering of the kinds of qualitative and descriptive data that are difficult or time-consuming to unearth through structured data-gathering techniques such as questionnaire surveys.

One of the major problems recognized in the aborted survey attempt was the fact that few key informants were found to be fully knowledgeable about such a complex process as manpower development. Also, because a great degree of personal opinion is involved in the assessment of program coordination and effectiveness, the judgments of multiple informants representing different segments of the community were needed.

Who were these other informants and how were they to be selected? Campbell (1955:339) provided some insight:

> (The informant technique) means that the social scientist obtains information about the group under study through a member (or members) who occupies such a role as to be well informed ... It is epitomized by the use of one or a few special (emphasis in original) persons who are extensively interviewed and upon whose responses exceptional reliance is placed and, thus, is to be most clearly distinguished from randomly or representatively sampled interviews.

The implication here is that there are many issues on which randomly selected individuals may be inadequately informed or too inexperienced to provide the information sought. The search for knowledge

on the manpower development process in the community context sufficiently met this condition to make the use of the key informant technique an integral part of the case study approach.

Chamber of commerce or community development association officials were asked to provide the names of individuals in the community who, by virtue of their community leadership positions or by agency affiliation, were knowledgeable about the various phases of the manpower development process. A total of 84 informants in the four communities provided information about the manpower development process from their perspectives.

The individuals were categorized as leaders, agency representatives, and major employers. Many of those classified as "employers" in Table 2-1 also occupied positions of leadership, but were interviewed primarily because of their key positions in the community as employers in one of the major industrial or business families (e.g., manufacturing, sales, service).

Three interview schedules were used in gathering the data. One, called a General Schedule, was administered to everyone interviewed. It contained indicators of positional, behavioral, and reputational leadership. Also, it asked for opinions regarding the objectives of manpower and community development and for the respondents' level of knowledge of the role of job training programs. In addition, evaluations were sought of the extent of coordination of elements of manpower development and of structures designed for the purpose of coordination. In addition to the General Schedule, two supplements designed to elicit more detailed information on agency

Table 2-1. Classification of Key Informants Interviewed in the Four Communities

Category	Hill	Delta	Coastal	Camellia
Leader	6	7	12	12
Employer	5	8	6	5
Agency Representative	5	6	5	7

programs and employer needs and program usage were administered to agency representatives and employers. Copies of each of these three schedules appear in Appendix A. All interviews were conducted by the author and ranged in length from 30 minutes to more than four hours, depending in large part on whether or not a supplement was administered. The modal interview length was approximately one and one-half hours.

Analysis and Presentation of Data

As stated above, the case study method is especially reliant on the development of indices and typologies in the analysis of data generated by the research. Such techniques of analysis and presentation will be utilized extensively in the chapters to follow. Also to be used are occupational structural comparisons based on data from the U. S. Census and from the Mississippi State Employment Security Commission. These summary-type data presentation techniques will be supplemented extensively by narrative accounts of the researcher's observations. Content analysis of documents and of extensive interviews with key informants in the communities also

provide supplementary data. Another supplementary technique is the use of quotes and paraphrased statements taken from the interviews.

Communities Studied

Population

The four communities selected for study are non-metropolitan centers localted literally in the four corners of the state of Mississippi. Geographic divergency is not the only factor which distinguishes them as the data in Table 2-2 indicate. Hill City, in the northeastern corner of the state, showed a moderate increase in population from 1960 to 1970, as did the county of which it is the seat of government. During the same period of time, however, the proportion of nonwhites in the population declined from one-fourth to slightly more than one-sixth. Only Coastal City had a larger increase in population and a smaller proportion of nonwhites in the population. Delta City showed a slight increase in population, but the county of which it is county seat had a moderate decrease in population during 1960-1970. The decrease in Camellia County's population was not as great as that in Delta County, but the city did experience a slightly decreased population in 1970. Whereas the nonwhite population decreased in both Hill City and Coastal City from 1960 to 1970, the reverse was true for both Delta City and Camellia City. Nonwhites in both these cities increased to the point that this group forms a majority in Delta City and one-third of Camellia City's population.

Table 2-2. Selected Demographic Characteristics of the Research Sites

Characteristic	Hill City	Delta City	Coastal City	Camellia City
		City Data		
1970 Population	20,471	21,673	27,264	11,969
1960 Population	17,221	21,105	17,155	12,020
Percent change, 1960-1970	18.9	2.7	58.9	- 0.4
Percent nonwhite,				
1970	17.6	54.6	13.2	33.4
1960	24.3	53.5	22.8	28.4
Percent aged 18-64 yrs., 1970	56.1	48.1	56.6	51.5
Percent aged 17 or less, 1970	35.1	40.5	38.6	33.9
Median family income, 1960	$ 4,600	$ 3,427	$ 5,727	$ 4,361
Mean income per individual, 1960	$ 3,146	$ 2,304	$ 3,638	$ 2,880
Median school yrs. completed by males, 25 yrs. and older, 1960	11.3	8.7	11.0	10.7
		County Data*		
1970 Population	46,148	40,447	87,975	31,756
1960 Population	40,589	46,212	55,522	35,063
Percent change, 1960-1970	13.7	-12.5	58.5	-9.4
Migration rate, 1950-1960				
White	- 4.0	- 9.2	9.8	- 8.6
Nonwhite	-20.8	-29.4	9.7	-20.8
Migration rate, 1960-1970				
White	7.0	-11.7	41.7	-13.5
Nonwhite	-25.6	-36.4	3.1	-23.8

*Each of these cities are county seats.

Age, Income, and Education

The data indicate that a greater proportion of the populations of Hill and Coastal Cities is within the principal employment ages

of 18 and 64 years than in either Delta City or Camellia City. For Delta City, fully two-fifths of the population is in the 17 years and under category -- the most dependent age group and typified by the highest unemployment rates. Median family income is significantly lower in Delta City than either of the other three communities, highest by far is Coastal City. Correspondingly, per capita income is lowest in Delta City and highest in Coastal. Delta City was also found to be lower than the other three communities with respect to educational levels; almost one-half of the population 25 years and older had an eighth-grade education or less in 1960.

Migration Patterns

During the decade, 1950-60, only Coastal City showed a net in-migration of either race. This is largely attributed to a sharp increase in the number of manufacturing jobs in the community. Those affected most by the phase-out of lower skill jobs, the nonwhites, left the other three communities in large numbers during the 1950's. The pattern did not change for nonwhites during the 1960's as out-migration rates increased in all four communities; even in Coastal City the influx slowed down appreciably. One interesting change is apparent, however, in white migration patterns in Hill City and Coastal City. Employment opportunities in the semi-skilled and skilled categories increased dramatically in both communities between 1960 and 1970. These changes are reflected in the increased in-migration of whites into these two communities. On the other hand, the rather sluggish economic picture in the other two

communities is reflected in the increased out-migration of both whites and nonwhites from those areas.

Employment Data

The data in Table 2-3 present an overview of the labor force distribution and economic structure.[2] With respect to total civilian labor force, a decrease of 10,000 agricultural jobs caused Delta County to experience a one-third reduction in its labor force from 1940 to 1971. During the same period of time Hill County's total labor force increased by almost 100 percent while that of Coastal County more than quadrupled. That of Camellia County remained relatively stable.

Other trends in unemployment rates are apparent. Due primarily to the labor needs of the large cotton production operations in the area, unemployment was never as big a problem in Delta County as in the other counties. Even in 1961, a year of economic downturn, Delta County's unemployment rate remained relatively low. As agriculture came to employ fewer and fewer people, out-migration took those driven off the farm out of the county (c.f., Table 2-2). In Hill and Camellia Counties the combined factors of the increased manpower needs of World War II plus increases in the number of non-agricultural jobs brought about a dramatic decrease in the high unemployment rates during the 1940's. The increase in industrialization in Coastal County was later in starting but accelerated much faster, so that the unemployment rate remained high until after 1961, then fell to a rather low 4.4 percent.

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[2]More detailed data on the occupational structure of the study communities are presented in Chapter III.

Table 2-3. Selected Occupational and Economic Characteristics of the Research Sites

Characteristics	Hill County	Delta County	Coastal County	Camellia County
Total civilian labor force				
1940	14,560	21,212	8,066	13,083
1950	14,361	17,406	10,677	12,461
1961	18,970	14,310	18,180	13,080
1971	25,680	14,050	34,910	12,680
Total employed				
1940	11,956	19,748	6,890	11,135
1950	13,973	16,640	9,061	12,091
1961	17,120	13,510	16,260	11,830
1971	24,700	13,370	33,380	12,000
Unemployment rate				
1940	17.9	6.9	14.8	14.9
1950	2.7	4.4	15.1	3.0
1961	9.8	5.6	10.6	9.6
1971	3.8	4.8	4.4	5.4
Number of skilled workers/100 unskilled workers, 1960*	65.5	54.5	90.7	54.7
Value added by manufacturing				
1939	$1,404,076	$964,336	$4,416,307	$2,217,337
1963	44,386,000	13,334,000	100,366,000	12,084,000
Percent change, 1939-1963	3,061.2	1,282.7	2,172.6	444.9
Value of farm products sold				
1944	$5,187,680	$13,115,905	$541,534	$1,959,053
1964	10,722,000	32,415,000	840,000	3,782,000
Percent change, 1944-1964	106.7	147.1	55.1	930.5
Sales tax receipts, January, 1972**	$135,394	$60,440	$104,059	$52,897
Percent increase over January, 1971	28.2	11.9	9.6	22.6

*Included in the skilled category are: clerical and kindred; sales workers; craftsmen, foremen and kindred. Included in the unskilled category are: operatives and kindred; private household workers; service workers; laborers, except farm and mine.

**Includes city sales tax only, not total county.

The methods used in measuring unemployment have been criticized for underestimating the problem. For example, Keyserling (1969) points up the need to include the following groups or persons not now deemed unemployed: (1) the underutilized and underemployed; (2) those people who have worked and who are now unemployed and not seeking work; and (3) those who have never been in the industrial labor force. If these categories of people are included in the calculation of unemployment in the four study counties, the rates would be much higher in both Delta County and Camellia County and somewhat higher in the other two counties.

Economic Data

Four measures of economic activity are presented in Table 2-3. Each one adds further substantiation to the notion that industrial growth in Hill and Coastal Counties has far exceeded that in Delta and Camellia Counties. This growth is reflected in the greater relative proportion in skilled occupations in these counties. The major economic gains, both relative and absolute, in Delta and Camellia Counties have been in farm production. Sales tax data indicate that wholesale and retail sales in Hill City are significantly greater than either of the other three cities. This latter finding suggests the relatively greater importance of Hill City as the trade center for a large non-metropolitan area of northeast Mississippi. The fact that, in the midst of a larger industrial area, Coastal City's sales tax receipts were lower than those of Hill City reflects a general tendency for locally-acquired industry payrolls to be spent in neighboring trade centers. Also, despite

the fact that the 1970 population of Delta City exceeded that of Hill City, sales tax receipts totaled less than one-half those of Hill City. Again, the relatively greater importance of Hill City as a trade center for out-lying areas is apparent.

These data suggest that the four communities offer interesting contrasts in terms of their levels of development. If the rationale on which this thesis is based is correct, interesting contrasts should also be found in the analyses of occupational structures, job training programs, and job placement efforts. Associated differences should also be found with respect to leadership structures and developmental rationale. These threads will be traced through the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III

JOB CREATION

Introduction

A key issue confronts the initial discussion of the manpower development process. The issue concerns the relative importance of the phases to be considered and their ordering in the process. Kaufman (1970c:7) states the issue thusly, "Which comes first in a (community) development program, jobs or training?" He answers: "There is general agreement that training should not precede jobs but rather be integrated with or follow the creation of employment opportunities." This point was also made by Leon H. Keyserling (1969:158, 136), former chairmen of the United States Council of Economic Advisors, when he said:

> ... the idea that training and uplifting skills of the unemployed will get them jobs has been, in my view, proved disastrously false, unless the jobs are created... Despite much argument to the contrary, deficiencies in manpower training and service have not been for many years, and are not now, the main (emphasis in original) barrier to a genuine and sustained full-employment program.

Thus, both Keyserling and Kaufman see the resolution of this "chicken or egg" dilemma resting first in the creation of jobs, to be followed, or to be accompanied by, job training.

That this sequence is not altogether adhered to in many communities is deplored by the Dean of the School of Social Welfare of the State University of New York, Sanford Kravitz (1969), and by former United States Department of Labor Manpower Administrator, Stanley H. Ruttenberg (1969). They have called for legislation which would provide for increased occupational opportunities in

the public sector. This "government as the employer of last resort" concept, of course, harkens to the days of WPA, CCC, and other programs of the New Deal era. As were its predecessors, it is designed to provide employment for many of those people who have been bypassed by the private sector or who have been victimized by a lethargic local economy.

Public sector employment is not the only thrust called for by those desiring legislative assistance in local job creation efforts. Berman (1961:344) has suggested the establishment of job-creation units in local areas which would provide assistance in the following areas:

1. Expansion of existing private businesses with special emphasis on upgrading existing employees.
2. Attraction of growth industries.
3. Establishment of community and/or neighborhood economic development corporations owned and operated by local residents.
4. Advanced planning for public works programs -- for example, schools, hospitals, and roads.
5. Special importance on strengthening the new public service careers programs, providing job opportunities and para-professionals.

More will be said on these points later. It is important to recognize here that in order to fully articulate the manpower development process some rationale for the sequence of its parts must be provided. This delineation is, of course, an analytical one developed for heuristic purposes; in fact, these three phases must be in progress simultaneously if maximum growth, consistent with structural integration, is to occur.

Issues in Job Creation

Job creation as it is herein conceived might be best described as the natural outgrowth of industrial development and structural differentiation, rather than vice versa. That is to say that it might be quite unusual to find a community in which the raison d'etre for industrial development is the creation of jobs for the people of the community. The difference, although possibly rather obscure, is important sociologically when one considers the associated rationales of development.

Where development is the desired goal, the skills and needs of the local labor force are of secondary importance. Where job creation is the prime goal, these needs and skills are of utmost importance. This issue will be taken up in more depth later. It is used here to introduce the complex nature of this first phase of the manpower development process.

Whatever the prime goal of the effort -- job creation or industrial development -- it is not a naturally-occurring phenomenon. Only in the exceptional instance does this kind of growth occur by what has been termed the process of "natural change." It is, in the words used earlier to describe community development, purposive change. The implications of this statement for the study of job creation in the community context are numerous. The analysis which follows will focus on a number of these implications which pose as issues in the manpower development process.

Occupational Structure

Perhaps the most appropriate method of chronicling the process of job creation is to be found in data on occupational structures

and changes in these structures through time. These data derive largely from U. S. Bureau of the Census and Department of Labor records which portray the distribution of the labor force among the various categories of the occupational structure. The chief advantage of these data is that many different comparisons may be made. For example, different social units may be compared at a given time -- communities with each other or individual communities with a state, region, or nation. For another example, given social units may be viewed in developmental sequence with a view toward changes in structure over time. Each of these types of comparisons will be utilized in the analysis which follows.

Any analysis which has as its focus phenomena at the community level must confront the issue of whether or not to present corresponding data from the larger context within which the community is located. Hence, if local governmental and political structure is the focus, it is necessary to consider political and governmental affairs at the state and higher levels. The decision is ultimately one of a judgment of the importance of the relationship between local and extra-local levels with respect to the phenomenon under study. With respect to occupational structural change, the relationship is deemed quite important. It is true, as Kaufman and Dasgupta (1968) point out:

> Much of the work on development, or planned change, has been at a macroscopic level rather than microscopic level. Emphasis has been on development structures or processes in general or at a societal level over an indefinite period of time rather than on specific local populations over a designated period.

It is equally true, however, that occupational structural change at the macro-level does not occur in isolation from such changes at the

societal, regional, and state levels. While the community is the focal unit of analysis in this thesis, changes which have occurred at these general levels have had profound effects on local trends. These changes must be described to provide a perspective within which to view local changes. Data depicting occupational structures and structural changes will be presented for three levels: national, regional, and state, and for the four study communities.

National Occupational Trends

Of the many modes of presenting changes in the labor force, among the more popular is that in which data are broken down into what are called "major occupational groups" in United States Bureau of the Census terminology. These data are important because they give an indication of the changes occurring in various industrial categories (e.g., agricultural, service, sales). The data presented in Table 3-1 are thus broken down.

Several interesting changes are evident from these data. First, the decrease in the extractive elements of the agricultural industry has been rather spectacular. Whereas in 1900 more than one person in three were thus employed, by 1969 the proportion had declined to one in twenty. A concomitant increase in the so-called "white collar" occupations is also to be noticed. This change is largely attributable to significant increases in the professions, proprietary and related occupations, and in the clerical services. Sales work remained relatively stable.

One final change has important implications for the later focus on job-training programs. A significant decline in the proportion

Table 3-1. Major Occupational Group of the Employed Population, 1900-1969

Major Occupational Group	1900	1969
Total	100%	100%
White-Collar	18	47
Professional workers	4	14
Proprietors, manager, officials	6	10
Clerical workers	3	17
Sales workers	5	6
Blue-Collar	36	36
Craftsmen	10	13
Operatives	13	18
Laborers	13	5
Service	9	12
Private household workers	5	2
Other service workers	4	10
Farm	37	5
Farmers and farm managers	20	3
Farm laborers and foremen	17	2

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. W. Department of Labor, for 1969 data; Bureau of the Census, Trends in the United States, 1900 to 1950, Working Paper No. 5 (U. S. Department of Commerce), for 1900 data.

of unskilled laborers has been offset by an increase in the proportion of workers employed in semiskilled "operatives" and skilled "craftsmen" occupations. It is these latter two categories which are increasingly found in assembly-line manufacturing operations, delivery-men and truck drivers, construction work, auto mechanics, household and industrial machinery repair, machinists and tool and die makers, and many others. Many of these are those toward which much of the effort and resources of job-training programs are oriented.

These changes are elaborated by data selected from a report by Rutzick and Swerdloff (1962:1211) in which they present a detailed

analysis of occupational structural changes from 1950 to 1960. The data are presented in Table 3-2.

Table 3-2. Percent Change in Employment in Selected Occupations and Occupational Groupings, United States, 1950-1960

Occupation Groups and Selected Occupations	1950 Number (in 1,000)	1960 Number (in 1,000)	Percent Change
Professional, technical and kindred workers	4,921.3	7,323.4	47.0
Clerical and kindred	6,954.4	9,306.9	33.8
Cashiers	231.4	469.0	102.7
Office machine operators	142.4	307.8	116.2
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred	7,820.6	8,741.3	11.8
Brickmasons, stonemasons and setters	116.0	185.9	12.0
Mechanics and repairmen	1,708.8	2,197.2	28.6
Tool and die makers and setters	152.7	182.3	19.4
Boilermakers	35.6	23.8	-33.4
Machinists	514.7	498.7	- 3.1
Molders	60.7	48.9	-19.4
Laborers, except farm and mine	3,436.1	3,107.5	- 9.6
Agricultural workers	6,727.8	3,950.5	-41.3

Source: Rutzick and Swerdloff (1962:1211).

While these data represent far from a complete picture of the changes which have occurred in the national occupational structure, they certainly substantiate the notion that agricultural employment is decreasing, while non-agricultural employment is increasing. The change is not likely to reverse itself. Data prepared by the Department of Labor (1970:302) projected a 21.4 percent decrease in the number of farmers and farm laborers for the period 1960-1965 and another 21.6 percent decline for 1965-1975. Conversely, professional and technical workers are expected to increase by 18.9 and 45.2 percent, respectively, during the two periods. Similar, although not so dramatic,

increases were predicted in the sales, craftsmen, operatives, and clerical categories.

One further note here is worthy of mention. While nationally, increases in most forms of non-agricultural employment are the rule, certain manufacturing occupations appear to be declining. For example, during the period 1950-1960, the number of boilermakers declined by one-third, while a 20 percent decline occurred among molders (Rutzick and Swerdloff, 1962:1211). Apparently, the industrial revolution of the first four decades of the 1900's has begun to abate on the national scene, and the major increases will now be in the sales, services, and professions. Data to be reported for the Southern region, however, will indicate that the industrial revolution is a rather recent phenomenon in this region and that for Mississippi specifically, manufacturing occupations have soared in recent years.

Regional and State Occupational Trends

That the industrial revolution was relatively late in arriving in the South has been alluded to. Data to be presented below substantiate this contention. The question is, "Why?" Nicholls (1964) contends that four factors were largely responsible for the related facts that, in 1930, 43 percent of the South's[1] gainfully employed people was still in agriculture as compared with 15 percent of the non-South, while at the same time the per capita income of the two

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[1] Includes the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas.

regions was $322 and $624, respectively. The South, according to Nicholls, lagged behind because:

1. It was predominated by an agrarian economy and philosophy which was positively opposed to industrialization and urbanization as an inferior life-style.

2. It was characterized by the "aristocratic ideal" borrowed from England in which large land owners dominated, and which developed a stratified and rigid social structure.

3. Large landowners were given disproportionate weight in the political structure.

4. The dominant socio-political leadership lost its sense of social responsibility to and for its people -- this was especially reflected in its opposition to the advancement of public school education and industrial and urban development.

That vestiges of these traits still exist in parts of the South will be explored later in this paper; it is quite probable, however, that if they occur, they are merely vestiges, not the dominant theme. For, since 1938, when Franklin D. Roosevelt called the South "the nation's number one economic problem" (Durisch, 1964). old ideologies have been re-thought, old power structures re-shaped, and old occupational structures changed. Dunn (1926:47) says of the period following Roosevelt's remark:

> The year 1939 can be said to mark the date of general acceptance by the leadership of the South of the importance of industrialization.

What changes have occurred in the last three decades since 1939 and how do they relate to the changes in the rest of the nation? The data presented below tell part of the story. The data in Table 3-3 summarize a study by Nicholls (1964) in which he elaborates several indicators of the changes which occurred in the 12 Southern states in the period 1930-1960.

Table 3-3. A Comparison of Twelve* Southern States with Non-Southern States on Selected Developmental Variables, 1930-1960

Year	South	Non-South	South as Percent of Non-South
	Percent of Total Employment in Manufacturing		
1930	14.5	25.7	56
1940	14.8	27.2	54
1950	18.4	29.0	63
1960	21.3	29.4	72
	Percentage of Total Population Urban		
1930	34.1	66.4	52
1940	36.7	65.7	56
1950	44.0	65.8	67
1960	57.7	74.4	78
	Percent of Total Employment in Agriculture		
1930	42.8	14.6	293
1940	34.9	12.8	269
1950	22.9	9.0	254
1960	10.4	5.5	189
	Per Capita Income (In 1957-59 dollars)		
1929	623	1,335	46.7
1939	665	1,290	51.6
1948	1,200	1,860	64.5
1959	1,652	2,391	69.1

Source: Nicholls (1964).

*Included as Southern states are: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas.

Several observations are noteworthy from these data. First, the South has become more industrialized and less agricultural, relatively speaking, than has the non-South. While still significantly behind in manufacturing jobs, the South's growth has far surpassed that of the other states in this important indicator of economic growth. Likewise, the decline in agricultural employment has been much more marked in the South than in the rest of the nation.

Two other indices of growth are presented. First, while per capita income in the South is still significantly lower than the nation as a whole, it rose faster over these four decades than in the non-South. Secondly, because manufacturing and industrial growth demands a more centralized labor force than does agriculture, degree of urbanization is an important indicator of change in occupational structure. In this regard, it can be said that the South has "gained" on the non-South and that it is evident that the South has centralized rapidly enough to facilitate the rapid rise in industrialization.

A more complete picture of the changes occurring in the Southern occupational structure is borrowed from a report by Simpson and Norsworthy (1965:203) and presented in Table 3-4. Noteworthy here is the fact that larger gains have been made in the South than in the non-South in those occupations requiring higher skill levels and those in the higher pay levels (e.g., professionals, craftsmen, managerial). Especially significant is the fact that, in the South, 1960 employment in the clerical, professional, and craftsmen categories increased by twice or almost twice over the 1940 employment.

Two final graphic illustrations are presented to underscore the rather obvious changes which have occurred in the occupational structure of the South and of Mississippi. These data are summarized in Tables 3-5 and 3-6. The data in Table 3-5 support the notion that the industrial revolution has been a rather recent visitor to the Southern region. Among the nine regions, the East South Central region ranked fourth in proportionate increase in

Table 3-4. Comparative Occupational Structure, South and Non-South, 1940 and 1960.

Occupational Group	Region	1940 Percent of employed persons[a]	1940 South's percentage/non-South's percentage x 100	1960 Percent of employed persons[a]	1960 South's percentage/non-South's percentage x 100
Clerical	South	5.4		11.7	
	Non-South	11.0	49	16.0	73
Craftsmen, foremen	South	7.6		12.9	
	Non-South	12.6	60	14.5	88
Professional	South	5.4		9.6	
	Non-South	8.7	63	12.3	78
Sales	South	4.8		7.1	
	Non-South	7.5	64	7.7	92
Service	South	5.1		8.2	
	Non-South	7.7	67	9.0	91
Managerial	South	5.9		8.5	
	Non-South	8.7	68	8.9	96
Operatives	South	14.8		20.3	
	Non-South	18.9	78	19.1	106
Non-farm laborers	South	8.0		6.2	
	Non-South	6.8	119	4.8	130
Private household	South	7.2		5.2	
	Non-South	4.0	177	2.2	232
Farmers	South	21.4		6.0	
	Non-South	9.0	239	3.6	166
Farm laborers	South	14.4		4.3	
	Non-South	5.1	281	1.9	226

[a]Excludes "occupation not reported".

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, U. S. Summary, Final Report PC (1), Table 89; and Table 59 in the following state reports: PC (1)-1C, 2C, 5C, 11C, 12C, 19C, 20C, 26C, 35C, 42C, 44C, 48C. Adopted from Simpson and Norsworthy (1965: 203).

manufacturing behind only the fast-developing Southwestern, Mountain, and Pacific areas. For the state of Mississippi manufacturing jobs more than doubled in the 24-year period.

Table 3-5. Percentage Change in Manufacturing Employment, by Region and for Selected States, 1947-1969

Region and State	Employees in Manufacturing 1947	1969	Percent Change 1947-1969
	(Thousands)		
New England	1,543	1,537	-.3
Middle Atlantic	4,331	4,333	.05
East North Central	4,557	5,283	15.9
West North Central	864	1,256	45.4
South Atlantic	1,662	2,578	55.1
West South Central	625	1,200	92.0
Mountain	160	359	124.4
Pacific	1,035	2,150	107.7
East South Central	710	1,203	69.4
Kentucky	138	244	76.8
Tennessee	256	467	82.4
Alabama	224	314	40.2
Mississippi	92	188*	104.3*

*Based on unpublished 1971 data supplied by the Mississippi Employment Security Commission.

Source: 1970 Manpower Report to the President, Table D-2, pp. 276-277.

This phenomenal increase in manufacturing in Mississippi is, in part, responsible for the sharp rise in certain occupational categories reported in Table 3-6. These data reveal some very crucial changes that have occurred in Mississippi over the period, 1940-1960, and which have continued to the present. Some of these changes parallel those reported earlier for the nation as a whole; others do not. The most noticeable difference, of course, is the decline in total employment. The 20-year loss of approximately 240,000 agricultural jobs was too much to make up in the other

categories, even though significant increases were made. For example, employment in the craftsmen and operative categories more than doubled, reflecting the sharp increase in manufacturing. The number of professionals and technicians almost doubled, no doubt reflecting the rise in industrialization, but also mirroring the increased number of health and educational service employees, as well as other government workers.[2]

Table 3-6. Percent Change in Employment in Major Occupational Groups in Mississippi, 1940-1960.

Occupational Groups	Employment 1940	Employment 1960	Percent Change 1940-1960
	(Thousands)		
Total Employment	553.1	453.0	-18.1
Professional, technical	15.7	28.9	84.3
Managers, official, except farm	26.3	42.8	62.9
Clerical and kindred	10.4	18.3	76.0
Sales workers	15.5	22.6	45.5
Craftsmen, foremen	29.7	68.6	131.0
Operatives and kindred	36.0	81.8	127.1
Private household workers	2.8	.9	-68.0
Service workers, except household	13.5	18.8	39.1
Laborers, except farm	49.5	41.2	-16.8
Farm laborers and foremen	93.8	52.5	-44.0
Farmers and farm managers	257.2	66.8	-74.0

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 26, Mississippi; U. S. Bureau of the Census, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

[2]These totaled approximately 140,000 employees in 1971 according to data from the Mississippi Employment Security Commission.

In summarizing this review of the changing occupational structure nationally and South-wide, several observations are rather obvious:

1. Tremendous shifts out of agriculture and into other occupations were noted nationwide, especially for the South; the change was even more dramatic for Mississippi.

2. Nationally much of the decrease was first absorbed in manufacturing; more recently the professions, sales and service occupations have shown significant increases.

3. For the South, manufacturing continues to rise in employment opportunities; this is especially true in Mississippi where such jobs have increased two-fold since 1947.

Occupational and Industrial Trends in the Study Communities

The macroscopic changes which have occurred in the occupational structures nationwide and in the South have been outlined. These changes, of course, set the tenor of the move toward economic development and are very important in any analysis of what this country and region have been and what they are to become, economically as well as socially. If this observation is true at the macro level, to what extent does it hold true at the micro, or community level? Gillen (1951:14) contends that the "occupational structure is basic to the life and activities of any city; hence it can be used to develop a scheme for measuring the relative effectiveness of city functions."

Because, as Form and Miller (1960:11) point up, the "occupational composition of the city is a direct response to its industrial structure," both these important aspects of the ecological and cultural bases of community interaction are important factors in a consideration of the job creation phase of the manpower development

process. Their importance is magnified when seen in the very broad light of their effect on "city functions" as Gillen referred to them. Among these functions (actions or interest areas, in the present context) might be included education, religion, housing, transportation, recreational and other services of the community. Of special consequence in this study is the response of occupational socialization agencies to changes in occupational and industrial structures. This aspect will be the focus of Chapter Four. Presently, the discussion will be concerned with an analysis of these structures in the study communities.

Occupational Structure

Occupational structures vary a great deal -- both between communities and over time within a given community. Both sources of variation are important in this discussion of job development. The data presented in Table 3-7 and Figure 3-1, respectively, will be utilized to make these comparisons.

In the brief description of the study communities presented in Chapter Two, it was indicated that Hill and Coastal Cities had been characterized by patterns of growth in terms of a number of variables. The data in Table 3-7 support this contention. First in terms of the number of employed persons, both Hill and Coastal Counties have increased each decade since 1940. Delta and Camellia Counties, on the other hand, have either decreased or fluctuated in numbers of persons employed. Predictably, the proportional employment in white-collar and upper level blue-collar occupations increased in all four counties over the 20-year period. For the most part, the

Table 3-7. Percentage Distribution of the Employed Labor Forces of the Study Counties for Selected Years.

Occupational Category	Hill County			Delta County			Coastal County			Camellia County		
	1940	1950	1960	1940	1950	1960	1940	1950	1960	1940	1950	1960
Total Employment	11,956	13,973	14,964	19,748	16,640	13,888	6,890	9,061	17,735	11,135	12,091	11,391
Professional, technical, and kindred	4.7	5.4	6.3	2.8	4.0	6.4	5.5	8.6	9.3	5.4	6.2	6.8
Proprietors, managers	5.3	6.1	7.8	3.6	6.0	7.0	7.7	9.8	7.9	6.3	7.6	8.4
Clerical, sales	8.6	12.5	17.0	5.1	9.1	11.5	8.1	13.5	15.5	8.6	11.9	14.7
Craftsmen and kindred	3.9	8.1	10.6	3.4	6.8	8.7	13.7	14.4	21.8	9.5	11.2	11.5
Operatives and kindred	10.1	14.2	25.6	4.3	9.7	11.0	26.3	21.8	20.8	13.4	15.4	22.6
Domestic service	7.1	4.2	5.7	6.7	5.8	8.3	8.6	4.4	4.0	9.2	5.8	9.3
Service workers (except household)	4.0	4.7	6.5	3.3	4.7	6.8	6.4	7.9	8.6	4.4	5.3	7.1
Laborers (except farm)	3.3	4.2	4.4	3.9	4.0	3.6	15.7	12.9	7.6	7.5	10.3	9.0
Farmers and farm managers	38.6	29.9	11.5	40.0	32.5	8.7	4.8	4.2	.5	22.1	14.2	5.2
Farm laborers and foremen	3.7	1.6	3.0	6.9	14.7	26.5	2.3	.3	.4	3.7	2.2	2.5
Unpaid family farm workers	9.4	8.0	-	19.8	2.0	-	.3	1.4	-	9.2	8.4	-
Occupation not reported	1.4	1.1	1.6	.2	.8	1.4	.7	.7	3.5	.6	1.3	2.9

most dramatic increases were in clerical and sales occupations, indicating the increased importance of these communities as trade centers for surrounding rural areas. In proportionate terms, the largest categorical increase in Hill County came in the crafts indicating the increased importance of manufacturing, building construction, and associated services.

The agricultural industry has decreased in importance in Hill, Delta, and Camellia Counties. It never was of as much import in Coastal County. This decline is reflected in the categories of "farmer and farm manager," and "farm laborers and foremen," and "unpaid family farm workers."[3] This generalization is true for all but Delta County, in which the decrease in farm owners and managers has been partially offset by an increase in the proportion of farm laborers and foremen. This, of course, represents a change in the stratification system in the community in which owners have been replaced by part-time, poorly paid laborers. Another industrial change which is reflected in changed occupational structures is the increase in manufacturing in Hill, Coastal, and Camellia Counties. The increase in manufacturing industries has resulted in the situation in which one-third or more of the employed labor force in each of these communities are classified as either craftsmen or operatives. While it is true that not all such employees work in manufacturing, it is also true that the preponderance of manufacturing employees are so classified.

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[3]This last category had decreased to the point that, by 1960, it had been dropped as a separate category.

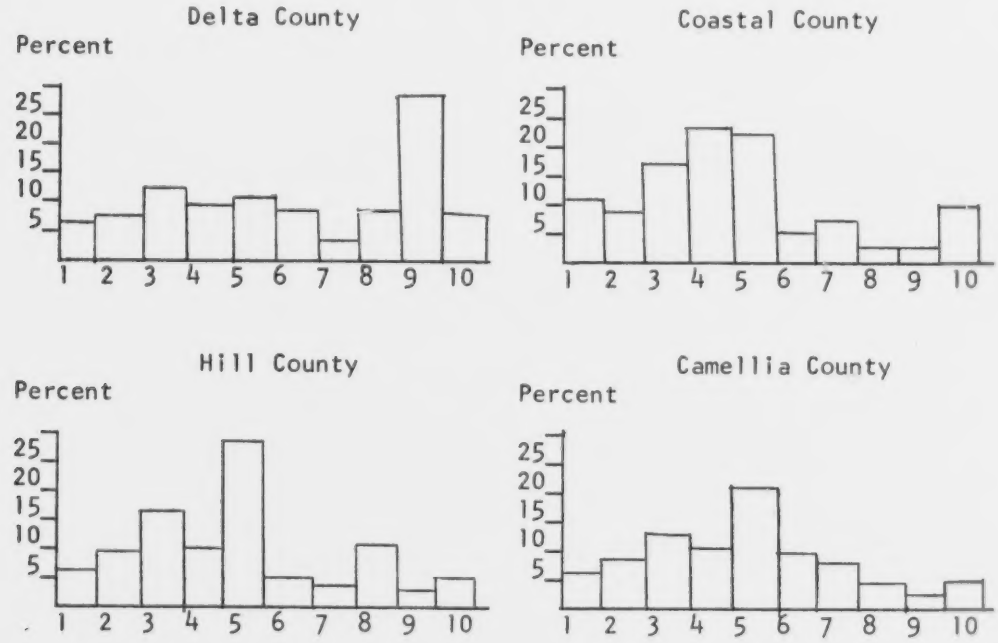
The 1960 employment data are presented in graphic form in Figure 3-1. Gillen (1951) has suggested that such occupational profiles are quite useful in bringing out differences in the occupational structures of communities. It is interesting to note that, although different in so many other ways, Hill and Camellia Counties are very comparable in occupational profiles. Their differences are more a matter of degree than direction, while the profiles of Delta and Coastal Counties clearly differ in direction. The profile of Delta County is obviously that of an agricultural area, while the predominance of clerical, craft, and operative workers in Coastal County clearly brands it a manufacturing center on the order of Irvington, New Jersey and Youngstown, Ohio (see Gillen, 1951:24).

Industrial Structure

No less important than occupational structure in an analysis of the job development process in an area is the industrial base which provides the employment. As will be shown later, it is quite a different situation to have a given proportion of a labor force employed as operatives in garment factories as opposed to certain "blue-chip" manufacturing industries. The following discussion will highlight changes in industrial patterns over time and will compare the communities at various points in time. Data presented in Table 3-8 and in Figures 3-2 and 3-3 will be used as points of reference for the discussion which follows.

Hill City is the seat of government of one of the most rapidly-growing manufacturing counties in Mississippi. A phenomenal 813 percent increase in manufacturing employment was experienced between

Figure 3-1. Occupational Profiles of the Study Counties, 1960



LEGEND

1. Professional
2. Proprietor
3. Clerical, sales
4. Craftsmen
5. Operatives
6. Domestic
7. Laborers
8. Farmers and farm managers
9. Farm laborers and foremen
10. Service

1940 and 1971. Although large increases were also noted in government, sales, and other nonagricultural industries, no other industry comprised more than one-sixth of the total employment. Close behind Hill County in rates of growth in the basic and service industrial activities has been Coastal County. The number of employees in manufacturing quintupled from 1940 to 1971, while rates of growth in the service areas of sales, construction, government, and other nonagricultural enterprises were almost as great.

The industrial growth patterns in Delta and Camellia Counties are somewhat different. Manufacturing jobs have increased, but not

Table 3-8. Percent of Total Employment in Major Industrial Groups for Selected Years and 1940-1971 Percent Change: By County

Year	Industry 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
					Percent				
Hill County									
1940	11,956	8.6	3.3	3.2	11.6	*	2.0	8.8	51.9
1950	13,973	12.5	5.5	4.3	16.4	7.9	2.5	6.6	40.0
1971	24,700	38.1	3.2	3.4	16.6	10.4	5.0	13.2	6.5
1940-1971	106.6	812.7	99.0	113.9	195.4	*	419.0	209.8	-74.2
Delta County									
1940	19,748	3.1	2.3	2.7	7.6	*	1.4	7.9	68.2
1950	16,640	4.2	4.5	3.6	13.8	7.9	1.9	8.0	53.2
1971	13,370	12.1	1.6	3.4	12.8	9.4	8.7	19.5	24.3
1940-1971	-32.3	161.7	-51.6	-13.0	13.3	*	324.9	68.3	-75.6
Coastal County									
1940	6,890	42.8	5.1	4.3	10.4	*	2.8	10.3	9.8
1950	9,061	32.0	7.4	5.3	17.5	15.4	4.8	7.1	6.1
1971	33,380	53.4	6.1	1.7	10.3	5.9	6.0	9.7	.9
1940-1971	384.5	504.4	482.9	90.5	377.7	*	941.7	357.7	-55.5
Camellia County									
1940	11,135	13.1	4.7	11.7	12.0	*	1.4	10.6	35.7
1950	12,091	17.8	4.6	12.2	16.0	8.8	2.1	8.4	25.3
1971	12,000	23.3	1.7	9.7	16.7	8.9	7.4	18.4	7.5
1940-1971	7.8	91.9	-59.5	-10.5	49.5	*	427.9	87.0	-77.4

*1940 Census "service" category included public education employees and is not comparable with 1950 and 1971 data, which didn't.

[a]Does not include public education employees.

[b]Includes: mining; finance, insurance and real estate; domestic servants; and self-employed and unpaid family workers.

LEGEND

1. Total Employment
2. Manufacturing
3. Contract Construction
4. Public Utilities and Transportation
5. Wholesale and Retail Sales
6. Services
7. Government
8. Other Nonagricultural
9. Agricultural

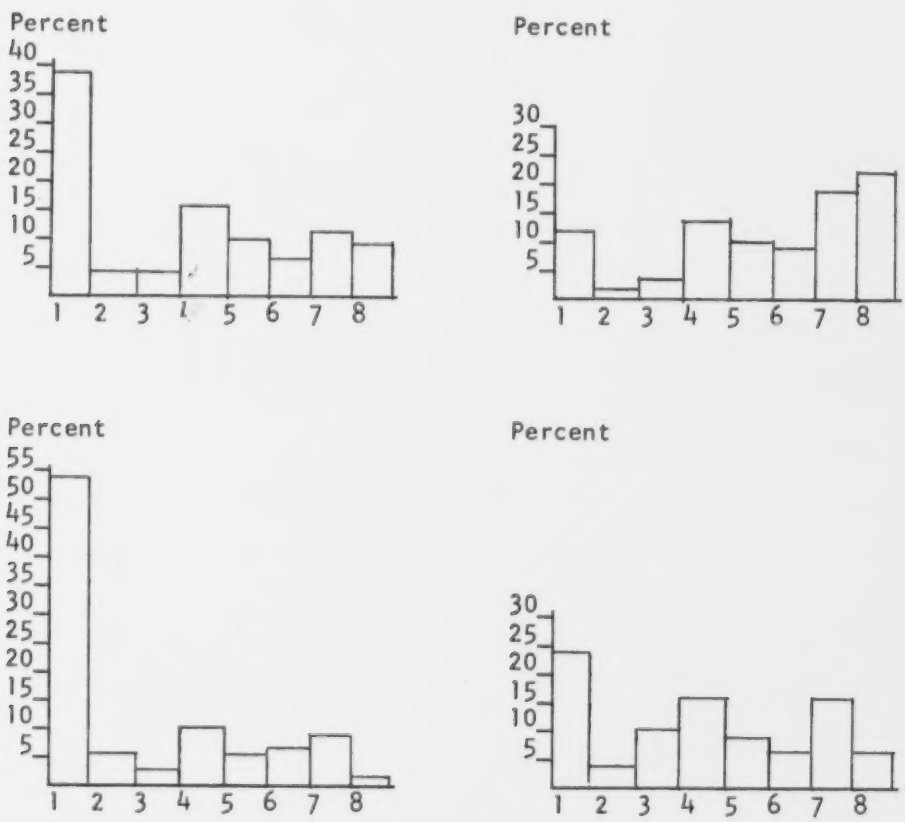
Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Mississippi -- Tables 23 (1940) and 24 (1950). 1971 data from Mississippi Employment Security Commission.

nearly so spectacularly. Moderate to significant decreases have occurred in construction and transportation and public utilities employment in both communities. These losses are particularly acute for two reasons. First, contract construction employees receive better than average salaries; these losses, therefore, not only represent a slowdown in growth of a community but also a loss of good paying jobs. Secondly, the loss in transportation employment is especially acute in Camellia County because it represents the beginning of the end of an era in that area. Since 1872, when the city was founded at the railhead of a line extension from New Orleans, the rail shops have provided a major source of employment for the community. According to the Census, employment in these repair shops and associated jobs reached almost 1,100 in 1950. By 1960, the total had decreased to less than 900 and has since decreased by some 200-300. With the steady demise of the rail shops has gone one of the few sources of large-scale employment of skilled and semi-skilled workers at relatively high pay rates. Industrial growth had not recouped the loss of these kinds of jobs in the community by 1971.

The 1971 industrial profiles of these communities (Figure 3-2) serve to point up the relative employment situations in the communities. In all four locations employment in sales and "other nonagricultural jobs" (which includes, among others, household domestic service workers) is relatively high. Other than these rather low-paid occupations, no other industrial categories in either community offer substantial avenues for employment except for manufacturing -- with the exception of agriculture in Delta

County. To say, however, that relatively large proportions of a labor force are engaged in manufacturing tells little about a community if the types of manufacturing are not known.

Figure 3-2. Industrial Profiles of the Study Counties, 1971



LEGEND

1. Manufacturing
2. Contract construction
3. Transportation and public utilities
4. Wholesale and retail sales
5. Services
6. Government
7. Other nonagricultural industries
8. Agricultural

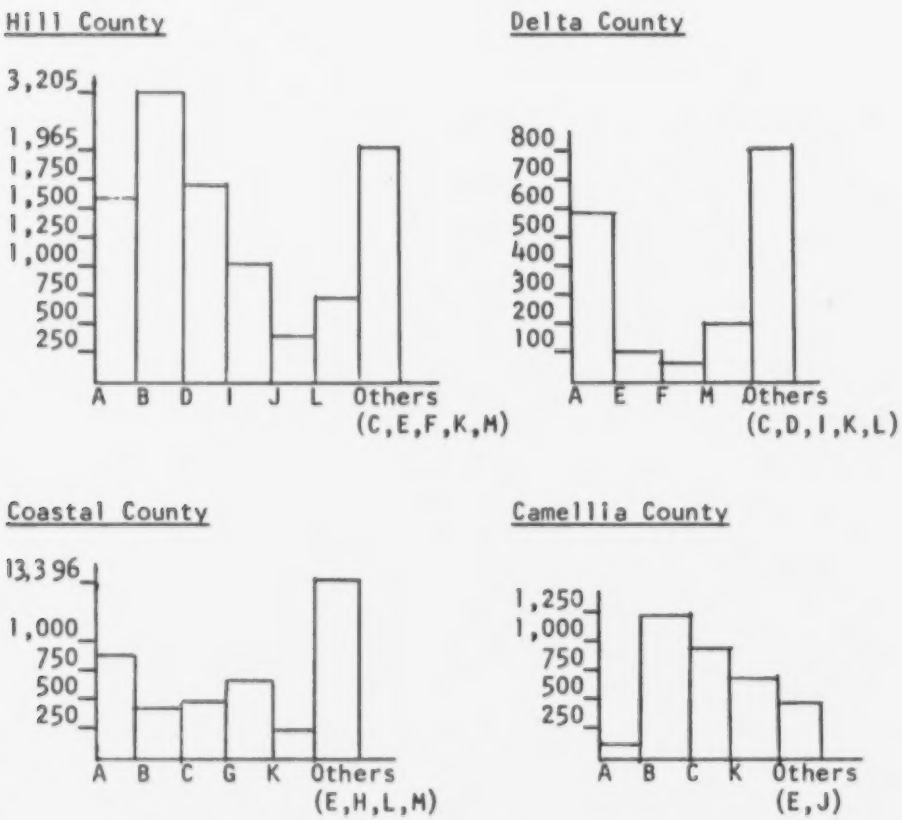
As pointed up earlier an operative in a garment factory and an operative in a heavy steel fabricating plant may be quite different economically and otherwise. Hence, Figure 3-3 is prepared to furnish

data on the types of manufacturing jobs available in each community. These data reveal some rather interesting differences. First, Hill County is unique in that 11 different areas of manufacturing (or combinations) have no less than 250 employees. On balance, no single category has a majority of total manufacturing employment. This diversification not only provides a wide assortment of production goods, but offers employment to a diversity of persons in terms of skill levels, sex, age, and other characteristics. Although these data do not reveal the fact, the latest report of the local development office indicated that only five of almost 100 manufacturing plants in the community had more than 500 employers. The rationale behind this type of industrial base and its method of attainment will be discussed below.

In contrast to the diversified industrial structure of Hill Community stands Coastal City. The latter community, strategically located on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, has developed as a shipbuilding and heavy industrial center over a period of two and one-half decades. Two shipyard components of a larger national corporation operate in the community with a combined employment in excess of 12,000, approximately three-fourths of the total manufacturing work force in the community. Additional new contracts have called for a build-up of the work force of approximately 400 per month to an eventual total well in excess of 20,000. Other large employers in the community include a paper mill and a petroleum products manufacturer.

The high skill levels required in these and other "blue-chip" manufacturing concerns, coupled with a high degree of organized

Figure 3-3. Total Employment in Major Manufacturing Industries by County, 1971



LEGEND

A. Food and kindred products
B. Apparel
C. Lumber and wood products, except furniture
D. Furniture
E. Paper and allied products
F. Printing and allied industires
G. Chemical products
H. Petroleum and related industries
I. Rubber and plastic products
J. Stone, clay and glass
K. Fabricated metal products, except ordnance, machinery and transportation equipment
L. Machinery, except electrical
M. Transportation equipment

Source: September, 1971 employment reported in the "Quarterly Bulletin on Employment and Wages of Workers Covered by the Mississippi Employment Security Law," Third Quarter, 1971.

labor activity in the area, have resulted in pay scales which

are high, even for lower skilled operatives and service

workers.[4] That the increased wage scales and number of skilled laborers has been greeted as a mixed blessing by local people will be elaborated later. One negative consequence has been that growth in employment opportunities for women and untrained workers has not occurred fast enough to keep up with the growth in blue-chip industries.

The situations in Delta and Camellia differ from the two above. In Delta County, for example, only food and kindred production activities employ anything approaching large numbers of persons. Only two other firms in the community employ as many as 200 people and they, for the most part, have rather low skill requirements for the preponderance of their employees. It should also be noted that where both Camellia and Hill communities have rather large numbers of manufacutring positions catering to women (garment factories primarily), these are almost non-existent in Delta County. The dearth of jobs in manufacturing for women is a concern on which more will be said later.

The problems in Camellia County are quite different. Garment plants and wooden box factories provide much female employment. With the exception of the railyards and an aluminum products manufacturing concern, however, male employment is rather sparse. Also,

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[4]For example, the latest contracts negotiated between the metal trades union and the shipyards call for a minimum starting wage of $2.96 per hour for trainees. Other operative and craftsmen wages range up from this figure.

except for the railyards (which have practically ceased hiring), wages are characteristically low.[5]

In summary, the four communities differ widely in occupational and industrial structure -- from the wide diversification in Hill to the predominance of massive industries in Coastal and to the shortages in Delta and Camellia. Something of how these situations came to be has already been alluded to. A brief discussion of two more issues in job development will serve to elaborate the above findings.

Leadership and Guiding Philosophy of the Job Creation Process

If, as asserted earlier, job creation is the result of planned change, rather than the consequence of naturally-occurring phenomena, then the persons providing leadership to the change process are a necessary focus of any attempt to understand the process. Likewise, any attempt at understanding the apparent successes or failures in achieving balanced growth must also incorporate an attempt at understanding the philosophy or rationale which has given impetus and direction to the process. Obviously, the former is methodologically easier than the latter.

Action analysis,[6] via document and newspaper investiagtion and interview data, can provide clues as to which actors and associations

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[5] Recent activities by labor organizers in the local plants of the aluminum products manufacturers have led to a mandate by the National Labor Relations Board requiring the company to negotiate certain demands, chiefly wage rates. Local leaders in interviews alluded on many occasions to the depressed wage scale in the community and attributed it largely to the garment and aluminum plants.

[6] For explanation and examples of action analysis, see Kaufman (1959), Singh (1970), and Wilkinson (1965).

have been most active in the creation of jobs in the community. It is much more difficult to ferret out the rationale behind that development. It is probably true that in many communities such planning is not well articulated or, in some cases, it is nonexistent. In other communities leaders are aware of their needs, their development goals are well articulated, and their plans and actions are oriented toward these ends. In the former type community one arrives at the rationale of development only by inferring it from the statements of many key informants. In the latter type community the rationale is more obvious because it is articulated better and is more easily spelled out by informants. Questionnaire items used in obtaining the data to be analyzed below are presented in Appendix A.

Job Creation Leadership

Who has been responsible for the level to which the creation of jobs has progressed in the four study communities? What segments of the community do they represent? What associations are most actively involved in job development? To answer these questions, informants were asked to describe the actions (including associational memberships) they had taken in expanding the employment opportunities in their community or area and to name other persons in the community who had been active in employment opportunities expansion.[7] In addition to these data, newspapers and associational records provided names of office holders and committee memberships in industrial development associations. Together, these sources

[7]These items are reproduced as questions 7 and 10 in the General Schedule in Appendix A.

provided three measures of leadership -- the reputational, the positional, and the actional. Each has its strengths and weaknesses. As Kaufman (in Kaufman and Wilkinson, 1967:44) points up, "To secure a complete picture, all three classifications as well as related ones need to be utilized." All three measures were used in this study for a composite view of leadership as it pertained to job creation.

Typical Actions in Job Creation

In terms of the kinds of actions that typify the job creation process, little difference was found to exist between the communities. The actions and committee positions most often mentioned by the respondents are summarized in Table 3-9. Most of the respondents indicating positional leaderships indicated that they had performed one or more of the types of activities mentioned most often. Those persons most likely to take trips in promotion of industrial growth were found to be elected officials and community and industrial development association officials. Those confining their activities to the local community were more likely to be more peripherally involved in such organizations. The fact that these actions were rather widespread in each community indicates that they were crucial factors in the job creation process.

Job Creation Leadership Structures

The following analysis of leadership activity in job creation will make use of a model proposed by Kaufman (see Kaufman and Wilkinson, 1967:46). Five dimensions were set forth for the classification of community leadership structures: scope, degree of organization, recognition, aspect of organization emphasized, and

Table 3-9. Actions and Positions Most Often Mentioned in Job Creation

Item	Total Mentions
Membership in an Industrial Development Association (IDA)	10
Director or other official of IDA	11
Local actions to promote industrial development (including land acquisition, BAWI bond promotion, etc.)	15
Trips taken to promote industrial development	14
Meet locally with industrial prospects	15

power distribution. Because the present focus is restricted to the job creation facet of community actions, the scope of leadership was not considered in the interviewing, although some data were gathered as to other areas of community life in which the respondents were active. Hence the scope of leadership is by definition limited. The last four named dimensions will be utilized in comparing the job development leadership structures of the communities. The model and its leadership pattern typologies are reproduced from Kaufman in Figure 3-4.

One note should be made with respect to this model before moving to its application. Kaufman does not make explicit reference to the volunteer/paid status of the persons most actively involved in the process of leadership, although he alludes to it in the "Degree of Organization" dimension. For current purposes this dimension is necessary and is found above the dotted line in Figure 3-4.

The data summarized in Table 3-10 (which is patterned after the model in Figure 3-4) indicate that examples of the two polar types are found in Hill and Coastal communities. Camellia and Delta, on

Figure 3-4. Interactional Designs of Leadership Structure

Leadership Dimension	Patterns of Leadership		
	Consensus	Factional	Authoritarian
Pay Status of Leaders	Volunteer and paid		Paid
Degree of Organization	Volunteer	Volunteer & Bureaucratic	Bureaucratic
Recognition	High Agreement	Low Agreement	High Agreement
Aspect of Organization Emphasized	Consensus	Power	Power
Distribution of Power	Pluralistic	Pluralistic	Monolithic

Source: Figure 1 in Kaufman and Wilkinson (1967:46).

the other hand, are more difficult to typify as they contain elements of the consensus, factional, and authoritarian patterns.

With respect to the first two dimensions Hill, Delta and Camellia communities' leadership structures were typified by significant inputs from volunteer actors and associations as well as from local government officials and agencies. All three communities had industrial development foundations which were jointly sponsored by county and local governments and by local voluntary contributions. The operating budgets of these associations ranged from in excess of $100,000 in Hill City to approximately $30,000 in Delta City. For the most part these funds are used to entice prospective manufacturing industries to the communities. Among other things, inducement included land acquisition and site improvements (the Hill City Industrial Association owns one industrial park and cooperatively sponsors another with city and county governmental support), promotional

Table 3-10. Job Creation Leadership Structures of the Study Communities

Leadership Dimension	Hill	Delta	Camellia	Coastal
Pay Status of Leaders	Volunteer and paid	Volunteer and paid	Volunteer and paid	Paid
Degree of Organization	Volunteer, through Community Development Association and local government	Volunteer, through Industrial Committee of Chamber of Commerce and local government	Volunteer, through newly formed Industrial Development Foundation and local government	Bureaucratic, through Board of Supervisors and County Port Authority
Recognition	High Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Moderate to High Agreement	High Agreement
Aspect of Organization Emphasized	Consensus	Consensus	Consensus	Power
Distribution of Power	Pluralistic	Pluralistic	Pluralistic	Monolithic

packages (color slides, sound-on-film, taped interviews with local industrialists) and recruiting trips to various parts of the country seeking industry. The most significant factor about the arrangements in these three instances is the invaluable roles which voluntary organizations and government played in the effort.

Government-voluntary assocaition cooperation in job creation did not typify Coastal City. Job creation, especially in the manufacturing industries, was primarily the role of the county board of supervisors and Coastal County Port Authority. One other person given a great deal of credit for leadership in industrial expansion is currently a practicing attorney in the city but was, at the height of his activity, a state representative. His more significant actions

as a legislator included the facilitation of enabling legislation for establishment of the Port Authority. He also assisted in acquiring sites for some of the more significant industries in the community. As for volunteer organizational efforts in job development, the local chamber of commerce has had an industrial committee which, according to one of its former members, is virtually ignored in the process of industrial development.[8] He, like other chamber officials indicated that industrial development is unmistakenly the province of county and city governmental agencies -- more specifically, the leadership is in the hands of the presidents of the board of supervisors and the port authority. Hence, the chamber does what it can to support existing industry and, through other committees, support development activities as needs exist in housing, retail sales, and assorted other services.

Degree of recognition and agreement as to who the leaders were in the community were derived by tallying the total mentions each person received identifying them as leaders in employment opportunities expansion (question number 10, General Schedule, Appendix A). The data in Table 3-11 indicate the rather high degree of agreement obtaining in Hill and Coastal Cities among the informants on this question. Further, leadership was largely volunteer in Hill, Delta, and Camellia communities and paid governmental in Coastal City.

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[8]As the informant rather bitterly explained: "We sometimes don't know about a new industry until we read it in the newspapers." In the 1972 plan of action the industrial development committee was phased out.

Table 3-11. Percentage of Total Leadership Mentions Accorded Members of Specified Groups: By Community

Group	Hill	Delta	Coastal	Camellia
Voluntary Association* (Chamber of Commerce, Community Development Association	67	29	15	48
Governmental (local, or federal agencies)	5	21	77	26
Others**	28	50	8	26

*Includes those responses identifying the paid associational executive director, industrial committee chairmen, and such non-specific mentions as "Chamber of Commerce officials," "Industrial Development Foundation," and the like.

**Private businessmen, school personnel, others not classifiable.

The lack of agreement in Delta community is largely attributable to the relatively large number of black influentials who were mentioned by one or two informants (predominantly black informants). Also, the proportionate share of mentions of governmental agencies in Delta was swelled by several mentions of local OEO agencies and officials. One further indication of the relative extent of agreement on leaders in the communities is the fact that the leading "vote-getter" in each community got the following percentages of total mentions: Coastal -- 43; Hill -- 24; Camellia -- 16; Delta -- 15.

With respect to the last two dimensions of leadership, Coastal City's leadership structure was clearly different from those of the other three communities. As indicated above, leadership in job creation was largely concentrated in the hands of a few powerful bureaucratic leaders. As one such leader said: "We (board of supervisors and port authority) have port laws, taxing authority and we

can tell an industry something. Whereas the chamber of commerce can only bring them (industry) in talk, we can finalize things." This statement emphasizes the power base from which this group operates as well as saying a great deal about the relative autonomy with which it operates. The outcome has been a vast growth in heavy, so-called "blue-chip" manufacturing, but at the cost of consensus and shared efforts on the part of various groups in the community.

On the other hand, representatives of education, government, voluntary associations, and private industry were involved in job creation efforts in Delta, Hill, and Camellia communities. With certain exceptions, these communities' structures might be best characterized as pluralistic and relying on consensus for decisions. A notable exception was found in Delta City, where certain key leaders were characteristically excluded from the decision-making process. An example of this is that recently a firm had indicated carefully-researched plans[9] to locate a large factory in the community if sufficient labor were available. On a prescribed day more than 1500 local persons logged their desire to work in the plant if it were located in the community -- a total far surpassing the factory's needs. On learning that a large majority of those preferring employment was black, however,the firm had second thoughts due to "troubles with blacks" in their Northern-based plant. The local chamber of commerce official indicated that local black leaders had not been in negotiations with the firm. He further added that such involvement

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[9]Based on evaluations of transportation costs, labor costs, land acquisition and facilities construction, tax structure, etc., the community had been designated as first choice among more than 200 communities studied.

of blacks might only serve to raise questions in the minds of industrial prospects. Hence, key black leaders have never been formally included in this phase of job creation. Given these reservations it is possibly stretching the point to apply the terms "consensus" and "pluralistic" to the Delta leadership structure.

Strategy or Rationale of Job Creation

The final issue in this phase of manpower development deals with the "how" or "why" underlying the stage of growth of job creation in the four study communities. As stated earlier, this is much more difficult to ascertain than the preceding analyses. Conceptual and methodological difficulties notwithstanding, the fact is that developmental planning is purposive (c.f. Wilkinson, 1971). Hence, an understanding of the rationale behind the planning is helpful in interpreting the total context of development. It might well be argued that the degree to which development (in this case, of jobs) is successful is, in large part, contingent on the degree of articulation of the goals and means of development and the extent of consensus on those goals and means among community leaders. It might also be argued that "success" is a relative word and depends, in large part, on what one defines as "good" or "bad" outcomes of development. That industrial development may be a mixed blessing will be demonstrated.

In order to ferret out some notion of the rationale of job development in the communities, two sources of data were used. First, a question was used which asked for the respondents to state what they felt should be the objectives considered in the expansion

of employment opportunities in the community.[10] Secondly, in-depth interviews with one or more key informants in each community supplied much-needed information for which specific questionnaire items were not employed.

The first question in this analysis is: "Is there evidence of an articulated rationale which effectively guides the job creation efforts of the community?" Not surprisingly, the answer is "yes" for the two communities in which a well-defined leadership structure has already been pointed up -- Hill and Coastal communities. Although only one key informant in each of the communities stated the rationales so articulately, numerous other Hill and Coastal respondents generally supported the statements of rationale. The statements follow in paraphrased form:

> Hill: Starting as an agricultural community, we felt it necessary to progress toward industrialization in an evolutionary process. That is, we have purposely progressed from production agriculture to many light industries to heavier, "blue-chip" industries presently and we are ready for further development in the future. As our people have developed skills, our industrial base has broadened and increased in complexity and skill requirements -- but it didn't happen overnight, we've worked at it for almost three decades. (Community Development Association Secretary-Manager).
>
> Coastal: Over two decades ago, we decided that we needed to develop our water resources if we were going to progress. Our economy is based on people and water. With few exceptions, our industries are water-related. We have attracted 38 blue-chip industries and only three of them are interrelated. (Chairman, Board of Supervisors).

Thus, in roughly the same time span one community has evolved to the point that blue-chip industrial growth is just beginning

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[10]Question number 12, General Schedule, Appendix A.

while in the other, such industry has become a way of life. Both these strategies are well articulated and are aimed toward industrial growth, but the means of attaining the goals implied in the statements are different. In the former, growth has been slow, always in keeping with the special needs of the community and its people. In the latter, growth has moved rapidly in keeping with the demands of industry and commerce -- a situation prompting a leader to boast of the facts that in a period of two decades, $500 million has been invested in a single industrial park and that the first BAWI bond issues approved in the state were used to finance local industries (including a gigantic one for the shipyard). Expressed in terms of goal orientation, the former might be referred to as "job creation," the latter as "economic or industrial development."

Viewed in terms of a means-end scheme, it must be asked if the ends have justified the means of obtaining them. Growth has been more comprehensively coordinated in Hill City. While gaps exist, it is a fact that educational, health and welfare, housing and other interest areas have developed in step with industrial growth.[11] That similar concomitant attention to these other aspects of development has not been given in Coastal City is supported by many assorted facts and the opinions of many local leaders. From these, the following examples are selected:

1. A recent task force report on education reported acute shortages of operational funds and facilities in the four school districts in the county. To meet the average

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[11]Data supporting this assertion are reported in Wilkinson (1965) and in an article in progress by S. K. Reddy based on 1972 data on comprehensive development in Hill City.

annual increase of 1,002 pupils (over the period 1960-1970) and projected increases, that same task force asked for federal grants totaling approximately $14 million to meet the demands of industrial growth on the school system.

2. Because of the lag of financial ability to increase governmental services such as streets, water, sewerage and garbage, fire and police protection and the like, the entire Coastal County area (including Coastal City and its suburbs) has been called by local public officials an area of critical problems. Brought on by the rapidity of employment increases these service shortages sparked a 1971 effort by local people to secure 42 million federal dollars to help alleviate the problems.

3. An editorial in the local newspaper dated January 19, 1971, summarizes the problems incurred with respect to housing. Entitled, "26,000 More Jobs Pose Housing Plight," the editorial pointed up the existing housing shortages, especially for rental units in the lower income brackets, and projected the problems to be faced with increasing growth.

4. Finally, the following paraphrased statements of various informants provide insight. The first was made by the former legislator referred to earlier: "One of our weaknesses in this community has been a lack of planning for industrial development." From a city official: "It is dangerous to build our economy around a single industry. Also, we don't need to 'kow-tow' to industry anymore -- especially in tax write-offs and so forth." From numerous people in words to this effect: "We must be careful of being too reliant on a single industry -- just look at what happened to Seattle, Washington, when the aircraft industry went into a recession. Also, we must be more restrictive on the kinds of industries we seek to attract and the inducements we offer. Pollution is becoming a problem and local governments are not receiving equitable tax revenues to provide services for all the people."

These examples of the results of unchecked growth in Coastal Community are not given to imply that problems do not also exist in the other communities. They do, however, attest to the fact that they are of a much greater scale in Coastal City and that a different rationale of job development might have prevented them. It should be pointed up here that in both communities a key objective of job development according to many respondents was "diversification," in

terms of skill levels required, characteristics of employees, and in terms of type of industries. For Hill City this came in the nature of an expressed desire for continued diversity; in Coastal City, the desire was for future diversity (especially in sales and service jobs for women).

One further note on these communities is important before moving to Delta and Camellia. Historically, Hill City leaders have sought to prevent large industries (500-700 employees or more) from locating in the community, while Coastal City leaders have welcomed large industry. The reason for the attitude among Hill leaders is obvious from the problems cited above. Their desire, almost overwhelmingly, is to continue to cater to the smaller industries. A trend in this direction is obvious in Coastal City. As the president of the port authority said: "We're interested now in attracting industries which will bring in large amounts of tax revenue without providing large numbers of new employment opportunities." Others echoed the desire for smaller industries which would pay their own way, rather than produce a further drain on the tax structure.

Only with respect to these latter comments concerning size and diversity of industries do the statements of strategy in Delta and Camellia communities resemble the degree of articulation of rationale found in Hill and Coastal communities. Primarily because of earlier dependence on agriculture and the railroad respondents in Delta and Camellia communities, respectively, overwhelmingly stated desires to attract a diversity of small industries, rather than large ones. The needs for skilled jobs for men in Camellia and for jobs for women in Delta have already been pointed up. The calls for diversification in

terms of size and in terms of skill level and sex requirements are the only evidence of an articulated rationale in either community.

Two statements from leaders in the two communities lead to the conclusion that the lack of a workable, well-articulated rationale partly accounts for the slow growth in jobs in the communities and casts doubts over the prospects for growth in the foreseeable future.

> Camellia: We seem to be doing and providing everything it takes to attract industry but they're not coming in. Attracting industry to this community is as difficult as pushing a rope. We've got too many blacks and unskilled laborers. (Bank president and chairman of Industrial Development Foundation).
>
> Delta: The high percentage of blacks and unskilled displaced agricultural workers seems to frighten prospective industrialists away, despite the attractive inducement package we have to offer ... Good industry wants to settle in a progressive community -- poorer industries want to hide out in a sleepy little town taking advantage of the labor force. (Chamber of Commerce manager).

Taken out of context, these are not optimistic statements, nor do they portray a rationally-conceived, progress-oriented rationale for alleviating the existing problems. In many ways (population density, nearness to markets, transportation media) both communities have superior resources to those with which Hill community started, but both are at least a decade behind Hill in terms of growth.[12] What is the difference? One can only surmise, but it may have something to do with the fact that the leadership structure in Hill community has been much more closely modeled on a consensus pattern. It reflects the fact that the needs for industrialization planning and

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[12]Leaders in both communities use Hill City as a yardstick to measure their own growth and more than one in each community estimated their temporal distance (in growth) from Hill to be at least one decade.

action were recognized in Hill City far before they were in Camellia and Delta and that local leaders and residents began supporting it earlier and have continued to do so.[13]

Finally, the difference may reflect the fact that in Hill community a philosophy of growth has been articulated, accepted, and followed; the same is not so plainly the case in Camellia and Delta. Had the evolutionary trend from agriculture to industry been followed in Camellia, leaders would have capitalized on the fact that large numbers of men and women in the community have had experience in industry. An industrial base and a labor force with plant experience are tremendous inducements to many industrialists. Had a similar evolutionary rationale been followed by Delta, many of the types of industry shunted as "poorer industries which search out sleepy towns" would have been welcomed into the community to help ease the transition from agriculture to manufacturing -- for both people and community.

Summary

Job creation as a processual element in the four communities has been described in this chapter. The communities were found to differ along several lines: occupational and industrial structure; changes in those structures; job development leadership structures; and job development rationale. The significance of these factors in

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[13]There is tangible evidence of a lack of support, if not outright opposition, for industrial growth in both Camellia and Delta communities. It comes, in the former, from existing industries which desire to maintain a dependent work force and in the latter, from large agriculturalists who desire to see land and labor remain plentiful and cheap.

the job training phase of the manpower development process will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

JOB TRAINING

Early in the preceding chapter the "chicken or egg" dilemma concerning the proper ordering of the job creation and job training phases of manpower development was resolved in favor of job creation. At the time, however, it was stated that they must occur concomitantly if either is to proceed with maximum possible efficiency. In this chapter the focus is on an analysis of the second crucial phase of the manpower development process and continues in the vein of analysis followed in the previous chapter. First, it will set the larger context of which local training efforts are a part. Secondly, it will compare the communities with respect to number and nature of agencies and programs in evidence and the number and types of participants in them. Finally, it will identify a number of issues related to job training and compare the communities with respect to them.

Among the issues to be lifted up are the following: (1) the extent to which training programs are reflective of the needs of the local community (both of the recipients and of the occupational structure); (2) the extent to which community leaders have been and are involved in job training efforts; and (3) the extent to which job training agencies are coordinated among themselves and with other interest areas. All three of these issues are aspects of the extent to which, in Kaufman's (1959, 1969) words, job training is <u>of</u> the community, rather than merely <u>in</u> the community.

Occupational Socialization

The concept of socialization is a central one in the field of sociology. It refers, generally, to the process by which the human being takes on the characteristics of his culture -- its values, beliefs, and assumptions about proper and improper behavioral traits -- through the process of learning. The process is comprised of both unconscious and unintended consequences of human interaction as well as the explicit and intentional actions of specially-established agencies of socialization. The former is typified by a parental reprimand of a disobediant child, while the learning of math skills and the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance in the schoolroom would be characteristic of the latter mode of socialization. As will be seen, the learning of occupational skills and the attendant values, attitudes, beliefs, and "work ethic" so important in successful adjustment to the world of work is dependent on both the formal and informal types of socialization.

Robert K. Merton (1957:287) has provided a definition of socialization which, with slight modification, serves well to define the process of occupational socialization as it will be used. Words and phrases enclosed in parentheses indicate modifications to the original definition of socialization:

> (Socialization is) the process by which people selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interests, skills and knowledge -- in short, the culture -- current in the (occupation in which they seek employment). It refers to the learning of social (and, more specifically, occupational) roles.

It is this broad context of meaning that is implied in this thesis by the concept, job training. By its use is meant the totality of

services by which individuals are provided the skills needed in fulfilling an occupational role as well as the cognitive and affective components necessary for success in the world of work and its complex set of social relationships. Job training also entails the provision of many supportive services such as day-care, basic education, physical and mental therapy, and a host of others. The agencies and programs to be reviewed below provide these in various mixes, depending on the needs of their clientele. The national historical context within which the current array of training programs available in the four study communities evolved is reviewed below.

National Trends in Job Training[1]

Efforts at establishing formal apprenticeship training programs date back to 1642 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. These programs were established for the avowed purpose of correcting parental neglect in training their children in "labor and learning and other employments." Other attempts at pragmatic relevancy in education were established in the early nineteenth century at Brown University, the Gardiner Lyceum in Maine, Rensselear Polytechnic Institute, and in Boston and Andover, Massachusetts, among others. The common thread running through these programs was the desire to provide adults and youth with education and training in the practical arts such as agriculture, mechanics, and science.

Hence, there were scattered and infrequently successful ventures in vocational instruction extant when, in 1862, President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act establishing the land-grant college system. The higher educational institutions conceived by this legislation

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[1]Most of the following is taken from Wolfbein (1971), Venn (1964, 1970), Schaefer and Kaufman (1968), U. S. Department of Labor (1966), and Goff (1969).

were charged to "promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

Vocational Education

The Morrill Act established vocationally-oriented training at the post-secondary level, but by the last two decades of the nineteenth century industrial and labor leaders, educators, and students and families began making demands for the initiation of vocational education at the secondary level. In 1880, therefore, Calvin W. Woodward opened a manual training school in St. Louis to be followed in rapid succession by a plethora of such schools in Massachusetts, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, New Orleans, New York, and a host of other cities. Some were private, some public. Their rapid expansion had an irrefutable effect on the passage of the Hatch Act (1887) and the Second Morrill Act (1890). Ultimately, it led to the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 which created a Federal Board for Vocational Education, composed of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Labor, and Commerce, the United States Commissioner of Education, and three citizens representing industry, agriculture, and labor. Better known as the Vocational Education Act of 1917, this legislation culminated almost 40 years of debate, study, political activity, and considerable experimentation as to the relative worth of institionalized vocational training to the citizens of America.

That the idea of such training proved to be effective is attested by its support. From the $7.2 million initially appropriated for the first year of operation, the annual expenditure for vocational education under the act and its subsequent additions and amendments had

grown to $300 million by 1969. In addition to providing more money on which to operate, subsequent revisions and amendments to the original act have also greatly expanded its scope. Training provisions have been expanded in such fields as trades and industry, sales and service, and others. In addition, changes in 1963 and 1968 have brought on increased emphasis on programs for the disadvantaged and otherwise handicapped, the unemployed and underemployed, as well as expansion of programs of combined school and work which aid in bridging the school-employment gap.

Technological growth and increased national awareness of the extent of poverty in the United States brought on many changes in the early 1960's. The need was recognized for an all-encompassing effort at formal occupational socialization that was outside the realm of any single agency or bureau. The call to action was heeded to such an extent that, by 1965, "federally-assisted manpower development programs (were) authorized in 35 laws or parts thereof," according to a report prepared by the Department of Labor (1966:2). A few of the more important of these acts (or, more accurately, clusters of acts and amendments) are briefly summarized below.[2]

Manpower Development and Training

The Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962 and its 1963, 1965, and 1966 amendments created a unique partnership between the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Department of Labor. The purpose of the act was to identify manpower

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[2]For more detail on these acts, see the references cited in footnote number one.

shortages and to seek out and train or retrain people to fill the shortages. Those to be trained were to be drawn predominantly from certain identifiable reservoirs of unused and under-utilized human resources -- for example, women seeking suitable employment, disadvantaged ethnic and racial minorities, disadvantaged teen-agers, and those displaced by automation, shifts in market demand, and other economic changes.

According to data reported by Venn (1970) total enrollment in both the institutional and on-the-job training components of MDTA had topped one million people by 1970. Over 600,000, he reported, completed training during the first six years of operation. Of those completing institutionalized training, approximately 85 percent reportedly obtained jobs.[3]

Amendments and supplements to the 1962 act have had several effects. Youth training has been enlarged, as have adult basic education programs. A minimum of 65 percent of the trainees since 1966 must be disadvantaged and the additional 35 percent of the training slots may be utilized to meet skill shortages. The JOBS (Joint Opportunities in the Business Sector) program, launched in 1968, has strengthened the business-government link in training and employing disadvantaged workers. This latter effort, spearheaded by the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), provides for remedial education, personal and vocational counseling, health care, day-care services, as well as other supportive services for the trainee and for management and counseling services of various types for the employer.

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[3]Certain elements of this report conflict with data reported by Goff (1969) and Mangum (1967), but the trends are similar.

Poverty Programs

Possibly no social legislative package has engendered more public support as well as indignation than has the so-called "war on poverty" legislation -- the Economic Opportunity ACT (EOA) of 1964 and its subsequent amendments. Wile much of the thrust of this legislation has not dealt directly with what is known here as job training, there are relevant facets which require attention. Although subsequently transferred to Department of Labor in FY 1970, the Job Corps was originally created as part of the EOA. Its purpose was to prepare youths, aged sixteen to twenty-one,

> for the responsibility of citizenship and to increase (their) employability ... by providing them in rural and urban residential centers with education, vocational education, useful work directed toward conservation of natural resources, and other appropriate activities.

One of the major features of the Job Corps program is the removal of youths from their deprived homes and communities to rural settings which are presumably more rehabilitative in atmosphere.

Another EOA program designed for youths is the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC). The NYC has three major components -- in-school and summer programs, both of which are designed to encourage potential dropouts to remain in school and the out-of-school program, designed to provide work experience and remedial education for those who have already left school. A feature common to each of these programs is that NYC youths gain genuine work experience in a supervised work setting. In the process they establish the attitudes, skills, values, and habits integral to the process of occupational socialization. Another important feature of the program is that the financial remuneration provides tangible evidence that the youths' efforts are

appreciated and also provides the economic support so necessary for children from low-income families to stay in school. According to Department of Labor (1970) statistics, more than two million youths have thus been served since the program's inception in 1964.

Various other EOA programs have evolved that are designed to assist adults in successful participation in the labor force. Among these have been the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), Operation Mainstream, Public Service Careers (PSC), Special Impact Programs, and Work-Experience and Training Program (replaced by the Work Incentive Program in 1968). In various mixes, these programs were designed to provide any or all of the following services: counseling, basic education, work experience in public and private occupations, pre-vocational training, skill training, child care, and a host of other supportive services. Principal recipients of these services include unemployed and underemployed youths and adults, recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and other disadvantaged groups. In addition to these programs, local Community Action Program agencies (local Office of Economic Opportunity affiliates) may provide various human resource development services through locally-initiated and designed programs.

Vocational Rehabilitation

The vocational rehabilitation program had its inception in 1920 when the Smith-Fess Act added funds for training the industrially disabled to the matching grants for vocational education originally appropriated under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. With the passage of the LaFollette-Barden Act of 1943, the current vocational

rehabilitation program was established, and services were expanded to assist the blind and mentally handicapped. Data reported by Venn (1970) indicate that the number of persons served increased from approximately 65,000 in 1940 to 569,907 in 1967, while the percentage rehabilitated increased from 8.1 to 30.5, respectively. In addition to furnishing rehabilitative services and equipment of various types, clients are often provided with the tools necessary to competently pursue their chosen profession. In many areas, sheltered workshops are provided in which handicapped persons learn a skill in non-competitive, sheltered on-the-job training situations.

Thus, historically, the rise in programatic efforts aimed at meeting the manpower needs of the industrial revolution and the occupational socialization needs of individuals has been meteoric. Not included in the above inventory are the countless in-house training programs sponsored by industry for their own personnel. Also excluded are the informal on-the-job training sessions in business and industry in which the novice works with a seasoned employee for some unspecified period of time until he "learns the ropes." Finally, this accounting also excludes a multitude of "once-only" programs sponsored by various governmental units to meet specific needs -- both public and private.

Job Training in the Study Communities

In Chapter Three national, regional and state, and community trends in occupational structure development were outlined. The changes noted were attributed largely to industrial development. The changes noted above with respect to the growth in job training

efforts nationally reflect the increased complexity of the occupational structure. The extent to which the job training programs operating in the study communities reflected the needs of local residents is the focus of this section. Changes in technological growth and associated increases in job training efforts nationally suggest a positive correlation between these two phenomena. The data reported in Table 4-1 support this contention in the four study communities. Coastal City, with more jobs and a higher proportion of nonagricultural jobs available, also had more occupational socialization agencies than either of the other communities. Camellia City, with the lowest number of jobs, had the fewest agencies.

It is apparent, however, that either a curvilinear relationship exists or that some factor other than level of industrialization is also in operation. For example, a large number of programs were operating in Delta, a community with relatively low employment and a relatively high proportion of agricultural jobs. Partial explanation is provided for this phenomenon by the data in Table 4-2, which ranks the communities in terms of three demographic variables indicative of the socioeconomic status of the residents of the community. On each of these measures, Delta community was clearly the least developed of the four communities, yet it ranked second only to Coastal in number of agencies.

These facts point up two causes or reasons for the existence of occupational socialization agencies and programs: (1) the need for skilled workers and (2) the need for upgrading human resources in less-developed areas. It is apparent that these two factors do not necessarily co-exist in a given community, nor, it could be

Table 4-1. Total Employment, Percent in Nonagricultural Employ, and Number of Agencies, 1971: By County

	County			
	Coastal	Hill	Delta	Camellia
Total Employment	33,380	24,700	13,370	12,000
Rank	1	2	3	4
Percentage in Nonagricultural Jobs	99.1	93.5	75.7	92.5
Rank	1	2	4	3
Number of Agencies	11	5	8	5
Rank	1	3	2	3

Source: Unpublished report of employment in Mississippi counties by the Mississippi State Employment Security Commission.

Table 4-2. Selected Demographic Characteristics and Number of Agencies: By Community

	Community			
	Coastal	Hill	Camellia	Delta
Migration Rate, 1960-1970	34.2	-1.3	-18.0	-28.6
Rank	1	2	3	4
Median Family Income, 1960	$5,727	$4,600	$4,361	$3,427
Rank	1	2	3	4
Median Educational Level, 1960	11.0	11.3	10.7	8.7
Rank	2	1	3	4
Number of Agencies	11	5	5	8
Rank	1	3	3	2

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Mississippi, 1970 and 1960.

argued, are they likely to occur concomitantly in communities of this size. The fact that the agencies of occupational socialization are called upon to address both sides of this dilemma creates strains on them that are not solely solvable by them. This problem is especially acute in those communities which, like Delta, have rather low levels of industrial development and high levels of individual and family poverty. Simply stated, the problem becomes a cyclical one of training persons who, because of the lack of adequate employment, are economically and otherwise disadvantaged for jobs that do not exist in the community. But, in the absence of job opportunities, what is to be done with the unemployed and underemployed, even those with skills? Foster (1965:153) summarizes the plight of the job training effort in this type of context:

> ... no amount of formal technical, vocational or agricultural instruction alone is going to check the movement from the rural areas, reduce the volume of unemployment, or indeed necessarily have any effect on the rate of economic development. Those factors which really give the impetus to early economic growth are far more subtle than the proponents of vocational education suppose. We would suggest that the crucial variables lie, instead in the structure of incentives within the economic system and in the degree to which the institutional milieu is supportive of entrepreneurial activity. Without such a milieu no amount of vocational instruction can be effective since the skills acquired will not be utilized.

Thus, level of industrial development is to be seen as a crucial variable in determining the extent of occupational socialization complexity and, in an important sense, in determining the relative degree of success of the total effort of job training. That this and other community structure factors are related to other job training issues will be pointed out later. The current task is to complete the description of the number and types of programs and agencies existing

in the communities, their predominant service offerings, and the number and type of clientele in each.

Vocational and Technical Education

The state of Mississippi has a network of vocational education facilities which, in FY 1971, comprised 17 secondary area vocational complexes and 22 post-secondary area complexes.[4] The former are operated through public high school districts, while the latter are operated through the public junior colleges, In addition to these 39 schools offering intensive vocational education curricula, approximately 400 other schools offered one or more vocational education programs in FY 1970.[5] In various degrees, the public secondary and post-secondary schools serving the four study communities provide vocational training for their students.

Before turning to an examination of the data presented in Table 4-3, some explanation is in order. First, all vocational courses offered in Mississippi public schools are classified in one of six service areas: trade and industrial; health occupations; home economics; agriculture; business and office; distributive education; and technical education. Within each of these service areas there are many different "occupational objectives." For example, within trade and industrial, one might take courses in any of the following: woodworking; building trades; auto mechanics; drafting; industrial

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[4] "Vocational Education Enrollments in Mississippi for Fiscal Year 1970." Published by the Mississippi State Department of Education, Division of Vocational Education, Jackson, Mississippi.

[5] Ibid.

electricity; welding; TV production; shipfitting; plumbing; and pipefitting; and dozens of others.

Secondly, enrollment in vocational programs is classified by level of program into six categories: occupational orientation; elementary and secondary; post-secondary; adult; disadvantaged; and handicapped. The data presented in Table 4-3 include only the second, third, fourth, and fifth categories. Adult and post-secondary enrollments are combined as one category. In some cases, the adult enrollments include rather large numbers of enrollees classified as "supplementary" participants. That is, they are not enrolled as full-time students, but take a course on occasion to either maintain proficiency in their field or to prepare themselves for advancement or transferral to another field. Because these courses provide valuable services to local employees and employers, they are included in the data. The parentheses enclosing the "disadvangaged" figures indicate that these data are already included in the total under either the secondary or post-secondary categories.

The post-secondary and adult enrollments reported in Table 4-3 indicate that all four of the communities are served by local junior college vocational and technical complexes. Hill City is served by a branch of a junior college in a neighboring county which is partially supported by Hill county and city taxes. The vo-tech complex located within the city limits of Hill City has a larger enrollment than its parent campus which is more academically oriented. As the data indicate, courses were offered in all but the technical fields at the post-secondary and adult levels by the vo-tech center, with rather substantial enrollments in all of them except home economics.

Table 4-3. Vocational Education Enrollments in the Study Communities, by Occupational Area, 1971

Occupational Area	Hill			Delta*			Coastal			Camellia		
	**S	PS	DIS	S	PS	DIS	S	PS	DIS	S	PS	DIS
Trade and Industrial	139	1080	(178)	216	99 474	(104) (64)	325	2297	(102)	208	410	(123)
Health Occupations	5	50	-	3	86 159	-	-	50	-	-	78	(23)
Home Economics	731	20	(54)	531	108	(56)	881	-	-	521	-	-
Agriculture	149	410	(16)	67	12	-	125	37	-	162	55	(30)
Office Occupations	25	174	(2)	16	147 201	(46)	-	811	-	28	278	-
Distributive Education	62	1031	(15)	60	-	(11)	-	-	-	29	-	-
Technical Education	-	-	-	-	108 166	-	-	4474	-	-	14	-
Total	1111	2765	(265)	893	560 841	(217) (64)	1331	7669	(102)	948	835	(176)

*Bottom figures are from a predominantly white junior college in an adjacent county.

**Legend: S - Secondary; PS - Post-Secondary; DIS - Disadvantaged.

Source: Data supplied by the Office of Planning and Evaluation, State Department of Vocational Education, Jackson, Mississippi.

It is especially of interest to note that, in light of the earlier study of the industrial structure of Hill community, the two largest enrollments were in trade and industries and distributive education--the areas of training most needed in manufacturing and sales and services industries.

Post-secondary and adult vocational education in Camellia City is largely provided by the vocational-technical complex located on the campus of the junior college serving Camellia and three surrounding counties. It, too, provides courses in a variety of service areas, although the corresponding enrollments are generally smaller than those for the Hill City school. In a community reliant on the sales for such a share of its employment and economy, it is interesting to note that no distributive education courses were listed in the Camellia school.

Two campuses of the same junior college system offer courses which are relevant to and serve Coastal City's post-secondary and adult training needs. One of these, in an adjacent county, offers courses that are oriented strictly toward ship-building; hence, these enrollments are included in the trade and industrial totals. Not surprisingly, the influence of the shipyards is quite strong. The employment requirements of that industry are reflected in the large enrollments in the trades and industrial and technical areas. Also reflective of what was pointed out in the preceding chapter relative to sales occupations is the fact that no training programs were offered in distributive education.

Like Coastal community, Delta is also served by two junior colleges, but unlike Coastal, Delta's employment needs do not make

this situation necessary. Delta County Junior College[6] and its recently constructed vocational education complex is located just outside the Delta City limits. It is a predominantly black institution which is part of a system which also includes a grammar school and an agricultural high school. The data indicating enrollment in the courses offered at this institution are presented on the two top lines under Delta County. The data on the second line reflect enrollments in courses offered at a predominantly white junior college votech complex in an adjacent county which, like Delta County Junior College, receives financial support from the city and county governments in Delta. Almost all white Delta citizens desiring vocational education courses go to the neighboring county school rather than to Delta Junior College. Both complexes offer courses in a wide variety of service areas. Those offered at Delta County will increase in the 1972-73 school year with the completion of the new facility. Again, as in every case except Hill community, no training in distributive education is indicated by the data.

Unlike the post-secondary and adult program offerings in the four communities, those in secondary vocational training were much less varied. Only Camellia City had in operation an area secondary vocational complex which offered a variety of courses. Such a complex was under construction in Hill City for occupancy in the 1972-73 school year. Some vocational training for secondary students in Coastal City was provided by the junior college in the county. The only vocational training provided for Delta County high school youths was conducted in

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[6] A pseudonym.

cooperative programs in the two city high schools and in vocational courses at the predominantly black school referred to earlier as part of the Delta County Junior College system. With these few exceptions, the data indicate that few secondary students in the four counties were getting vocational training in any courses other than home economics, trade and industrial, and agriculture. Much of this was provided by the smaller rural high schools which exist in each county. Little or no training was conducted in the technical, health, and office occupational areas.

These data on vocational education indicate that youths and adults in the four communities and their surrounding smaller communities had a rather wide assortment of training programs available to them. This variety was more true for post-secondary and adult students and was more true in some occupational areas than in others. With the exception of Hill County, nothing in the nature of distributive education was provided for post-secondary and adult students. This dearth reflected the occupational structures of the communities with respect to the relatively few sales jobs.

Other Job Training Programs

As has been pointed out previously, in-school vocational education programs are only a part of the total job training effort. As will be seen in this section there are other agencies which provide skill training and related developmental programs for the residents of the study communities. Tables 4-4 through 4-7 summarize information concerning each program or agency in effect at the time of the study in each community.

Table 4-4. Occupational Socialization Programs and Agencies Operating in Hill City, 1971

Program or Agency	Source of Funds or Sponsor	Service Offerings	Predominant Clientele	Number Served*
Vocational Rehabilitation	State Department of Education, Vocational Rehabilitation Division	1. Evaluation 2. Personal adjustment (work habits, interpersonal skills, etc.) 3. Counseling and guidance (vocational and other) 4. General work skill training in a sheltered environment 5. Job placement and follow-up	Physically and mentally disabled and persons with behavioral disorders	100
Neighborhood Youth Corps (all programs)	Office of Economic Opportunity	Provides work experience, job placement, counseling, and remedial education	In-school and school drop-outs aged 16 years and above	251
Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA)				
1. MDTA/OJT	Mississippi Employment Security Commission (MESC)	Provides funds to employers in partial reimbursement for salaries, training and related costs for employing the disadvantaged	Unemployed and underemployed adults	105
2. MDTA/Institutional	MESC and State Department of Education	Contracts with local educational institutions to provide counseling, supportive services, basic education, and skill training	Unemployed and underemployed adults	60

Table 4-4. Continued

Program or Agency	Source of Funds or Sponsor	Service Offerings	Predominant Clientele	Number Served*
Apprenticeship Training	Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training Department of Labor	See Table 4-6	See Table 4-6	6
JOBS	Department of Labor	See Table 4-6	See Table 4-6	83

*Represents either slots available or actual enrollment for program year 1970-71.

Table 4-5. Occupational Socialization Programs and Agencies Operating in Delta City, 1971

Program or Agency	Source of Funds or Sponsor	Service Offerings	Predominant Clientele	Number Served*
Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)	Department of Labor in conjunction with the local community action agency	Provides assessment (vocational and intelligence testing counseling, and labor force information) and orientation (detailed information on jobs of individuals' choices), job-related training (job applications, time schedules, work attitudes, etc.). Also, referrals to skill training programs.	Hardcore unemployed and/or underemployed persons	210
Operation Mainstream	Department of Labor and O.E.O.	Job-creation and work-training in public agencies. Administered by local Community Action Agency.	Chronically unemployed disadvantaged adults 22 years and older	60
Neighborhood Youth Corps	O.E.O.	See Table 4-4.	See Table 4-4.	174

Table 4-5. Continued

Program or Agency	Source of Funds or Sponsor	Service Offerings	Predominant Clientele	Number Served*
MDTA/Institutional	State Department of Education and Department of Labor (through CEP)	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	37
Special Education Training	Department of Labor	Provides books, supplies, transportation, and stipends to attend training programs not available locally	Unemployed and underemployed adults 18 years and older	5
On-the-job-training	Department of Labor (through CEP)	See Table 4-4 under MDTA/OJT	Unemployed or underemployed. Must have attended assessment and orientation (A/O) through CEP	8
Supplemental Training and Employment Program (STEP)	Department of Labor	Provides short-term, meaningful work experience in the public and private sectors for recent graduates of Department of Manpower training programs who have been displaced	Disadvantaged, unemployed, and must have participated in some other training program	16
Public Service Careers	Department of Labor (through Economic Development Administration)	To provide jobs in the public sector for disadvantaged and to stimulate upgrading current public sector employees	Unemployed or underemployed adults	41

Jobs Optional Program (JOPS)	Department of Labor	Provides reimbursement for employers hiring and training disadvantaged in private industrial jobs with opportunities for advancement to jobs of higher responsibility	Unemployed and underemployed adults	15
STAR Labor Mobility	Department of Labor	Provides funds and other assistance in relocation from one area (supply) to another (demand) for a specific job or training	Unemployed and underemployed persons currently earning less than minimum wage	**
Mississippi Delta Council for Farm Workers Opportunities, Inc.	Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers Division, O.E.O.	Provides literacy training, job counseling and orientation, on-the-job-training in industry, skill training, and various supportive services	Unemployed and underemployed farm workers and those displaced no more than two years	30
Vocational Rehabilitation	State Department	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	**

*Represents either slots available or actual enrollment for program year, 1970-1971.

**Data not available.

Table 4-6. Occupational Socialization Programs and Agencies Operating in Coastal City, 1971

Program or Agency	Source of Funds or Sponsor	Service Offerings	Predominant Clientele	Number Served*
Neighborhood Youth Corps (Summer and out-of-school)	O.E.O.	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	228
MDTA/Institutional	State Department of Education and Employment Service	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	40
MDTA/OJT	Department of Labor	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	403
MDTA-Coupled	Department of Labor, State Department of Education, and Shipyards	Provides 20 weeks of institutional training coupled with 20 weeks of OJT in shipyards. All trainees finishing first phase are employed	Unemployed and underemployed	1,387
STEP	Department of Labor	See Table 4-5	See Table 4-5	5
JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector)	Department of Labor	On-the-job and upgrading training, counseling job-related training, and supportive services	Unemployed and underemployed	487
Apprenticeship Training	Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT)	Provides assistance in promoting, developing and servicing apprenticeship and skill improvement programs	Varies with program. Attempts to attract unemployed and underemployed--but generally no restrictions	523

STAR Manpower Component	STAR, Inc. (Systematic Training and Redevelopment)--funded by DOL and OEO	Provides counseling job-related training, basic education, skill training, supportive services, and work experience in whatever mix needed by the individual	Family heads aged 18-45, in poverty (as defined by OEO guidelines)	300
STAR Labor Mobility	Department of Labor	See Table 4-5	See Table 4-5	**
Joint Apprenticeship Program	Department of Labor, A. Philip Randolph Fund, and Worker's Defense League	To recruit minorities into occupations in the skilled trades	Unemployed and underemployed minority group members	328
Human Resources Development Institute	AFL-CIO	Stimulate participation of affiliated unions in federally-sponsored manpower programs	As designated by particular programs. Focus is on upgrading unemployed and underemployed	**
Vocational Rehabilitation	State Department of Education	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	**

*Represents either slots available or actual enrollment for program year, 1970-1971.

**Data not available.

Table 4-7. Occupational Socialization Programs and Agencies Operating in Camellia City, 1971

Program or Agency	Source of Funds or Sponsor	Service Offerings	Predominant Clientele	Number Served*
Neighborhood Youth Corps (out-of-school only)	O.E.O.	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	34
STEP	Department of Labor	See Table 4-5	See Table 4-5	20

MDTA/Institutional	State Department of Education and MESC	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	15
MDTA/OJT	MESC	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	13
Apprenticeship Training	BAT	See Table 4-6	See Table 4-6	47
JOPS	Department of Labor	See Table 4-5	See Table 4-5	**
Vocational Rehabilitation	State Department of Education	See Table 4-4	See Table 4-4	**

*Represents either slots available or actual enrollment for program year, 1970-1971.

**Data not available.

One of the most interesting observations to be drawn from these data is the fact that a core set of programs prevailed in each community. The set consisted of one or more Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) programs, Vocational Rehabilitation, Manpower Development and Training Act programs (both institutional and on-the-job training), and one or more programs under the broad category of JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, funded variously by EDA, DOL, the Governor's Office).

Beyond these core programs, each community has added programs as needs have demanded. The most obvious examples of where programs have been added are Delta and Coastal. As pointed out earlier, these communities ranked high on indices of two important factors leading to the establishment of job training programs--incidence of poverty and its correlates and the extent of industrial development. A closer look at the nature of the programs which have evolved under each of these conditions is instructive in the search for relationships between job creation and job training.

The data in Table 4-3 indicated that while almost 15 percent (217 of 1453) of the total vocational education enrollments in Delta County was classified as disadvantaged, only 1 percent (102 of 8697) of those in Coastal County was so classified. The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), STAR Labor Mobility, Mississippi Delta Council for Farm Workers, and several of the Department of Labor funded programs, existing only in Delta City, are all designed to upgrade and enhance the employability of persons in poverty areas. In Coastal City, on the other hand, the programs which have evolved are predominantly oriented toward meeting the labor demands of the industries in the area. The job training situations in Delta and Coastal Cities have evolved to meet the special needs of the communities. The extreme needs of these communities were not found in Camellia and Hill; thus the programs in the latter were not so specialized.

The data in Tables 4-4 through 4-7 confirm the contention that associational differentiation is an accomplished fact in terms of occupational socialization in these four communities. Many different national, state, and local bureaus and agencies are involved. Likewise, predominant clienteles run the gamut in terms of socioeconomic status, age, sex, race, skill level.

But these data do not include the large amount of in-plant training which is conducted in manufacturing plants and other industries in the four communities. No accurate data were available on the number of people being trained in this manner. Interviews with plant managers and employment officers in approximately 25 of the larger

places of employment[7] in the communities revealed several interesting facts concerning in-plant training. For example, the following are cited:

(1) Many employers in the 100-300 employee range reported that they utilize a career development system in their operations by which when jobs become available, persons are promoted from below and trained on the job rather than skilled people being brought in from training programs or other firms. Several employers indicated that their union agreements called for this type of process of filling jobs.

(2) Many industrial plants, most notably garment plants and the shipyards, have their own formalized training programs in which new employees are hired and undergo training programs of varying lengths before going on the production line. Even with all the shipyard-oriented training in the Coastal City area, the manpower needs cannot be met externally and they must resort to their own training programs. The needle crafts, excluded by law from the list of fundable training, must rely on their own programs.

(3) Many employers indicated that plant-sponsored training, either formal or informal, had several advantages over other types, even though they are more expensive. First, employees learn skills on the company's own equipment and in the specific manner desired by the company. Secondly, training classes may be started and terminated as the need dictates. Thirdly, so-called "bureaucratic red tape" in terms of employment standards, classroom/on-the-job training time ratios, instructor qualifications, course length and the like is avoided.

(4) In a related vein, a number of employers cited reluctance to become involved with any of the "governmental agencies." Factors cited as causes for this reluctance ranged from a lack of confidence in the level and type of training being provided to a disdain for such so-called "poverty programs" which cater to minority groups.

Whether or not these and many other such factors are based in fact might be questioned. What is obvious, however, is the effect which

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[7] Representative employers included hospitals, shipyards, papermills, conveyor equipment manufacturing, lighting manufacturing, and garment plants.

they have on the job training efforts in the communities. The findings of such widespread depenoence on in-house training have serious implications for job training agencies. What is suggested is that the services of the agencies are not being adequately utilized. Possibly more crucial, however, is the possibility that many of those people most in need of training and jobs are being categorically excluded from both by such a procedure. These ideas are explored in more detail in this and the following chapters.

In summarizing this section on the extent and nature of the job training efforts in the four communities, diversity is the key word. Just as the communities differed in extent and nature of occupational and industrial differentiation, so they differ in terms of the job training programs and agencies available, their prime aim or purpose, and (as so vividly exemplified by Delta and Coastal) in terms of the causes of program development.

Relevancy of Training Programs to Community Needs

Two factors will be utilized in this section to measure the degree to which training programs are relevant to local needs. First, an assessment will be made of the training programs which have evolved in the communities in light of their principal needs for training. This factor, of course, has been the focus of much of the discussion above. Secondly, the extent of local control over training programs will be assessed. Kaufman (1959:14) has described some actions in the community as being "carried on in localities... (which) have little or no reference to the locality, but instead are oriented toward the mass society." Other actions, by implication, are oriented to locality

needs, interests, and actors and are locally-administered, rather than from extra-local offices at state, regional, or national headquarters.

Much of the data discussed above is instructive in viewing the proliferation of occupational socialization programs in the four study communities in this light. For example, it was pointed out that more programs and agencies existed in the two communities whose needs for such programs were greatest -- Delta and Coastal. It was also pointed out that the needs were different in the two communities and that the training programs which had evolved roughly reflected these needs. In Delta City the emphasis was found to be on providing skills to unskilled and underskilled persons to increase their employability. In Coastal City, the dominant emphasis was on meeting the manpower needs of industry.

The relationship of training to needs in Hill and Camellia communities is more difficult to assess. The needs for industrial manpower are great in Hill City, but informal means are being employed to meet many of these needs. As positions requiring higher skills are made available through industrial expansion, employees in less-skilled jobs move up. The level of skill which they bring to the new job is often sufficient to negate the need for formal training. What skills such employees need to satisfactorily perform their duties can be obtained on the job through informal means.

The existence of this informal network of placement and skill upgrading does not imply a lack of need for job training programs. Rather, it points to a rather different role for them -- that of providing upgrading for workers on the way up this job ladder. Vocational education conducted through the public educational system

is best able to handle this particular role, especially as it offers courses on a supplemental basis as explained earlier. This the vo-tech complex of the junior college in Hill City does. Of the total post-secondary and adult enrollment of 2,765 students, almost 75 percent (2,066) was enrolled in supplemental courses rather than in full-time programs. This example of the industry-supportive role being played by vocational education in the community was supported by local employers. A large number of local employers indicated that while they seldom employ graduates of terminal programs, they send employees to the college for courses regularly. Such courses assist the employees to be more proficient in their present positions or, in anticipation of promotion, in their new capacity.

Another role, which in Delta and Coastal Cities is performed by a wide variety of programs, (e.g., Mississippi Delta Council for Farm Workers, Community Action, STAR, etc.) is that of facilitating the move of disadvantaged minorities into industrial occupations and acting as a spokesman for these groups once in the occupational structure. In Hill City this role is largely performed by a non-governmental organization, the Northeast Mississippi Community Relations Association. Organized in 1959 under the auspices of the local community development association, the Community Relations Association has been a positive force in promoting the employment of black workers in industry and in gaining benefits for workers at all levels. Two of its chief objectives have been (1) to promote "good will, understanding, and cooperation between industry and all segments of the population" and (2) to "oppose the undue encroachment of governmental authority on the freedom of industry, labor

individuals, or groups." A significant by-product of the influence of this agency has been the fact that organized labor has found it quite difficult to make inroads in local industries. As one of the larger employers noted: "We're providing benefits which exceed the requests made by prospective union organizers." Much of the credit for this situation is given the Community Relations Association.

The story of vocational education with respect to post-secondary and adult training in Camellia is similar to that in Hill. Almost 68 percent (567 of 835) of the total enrollment was "supplemental" enrollees. As was the case in Hill City, many Camellia City employers reported utilizing the services of the junior college to upgrade current employees. But unlike Hill City, the paucity of governmental agencies designed expressly to assist the disadvantaged is not offset by such a voluntary organization as the Community Relations Association. Hence, placement of such people has been quite problematical. The extent of the problem is explored in Chapter Five.

A brief look at the extent to which local versus extra-local control is exerted over training programs reveals little surface difference between the four communities. However, a later analysis of the extent of behavioral involvement of community leaders in agency activities will reveal several key differences. In terms of official local/extra-local relations, however, the following generalizations are true of the majority of programs in each community:

(1) The majority, if not all, of the operating funds for all the agencies and programs comes directly from extra-local sources (either state, regional, or national offices).

(2) Plans of work or plans of action of all the programs and agencies are ultimately approved at extra-local levels by extra-local bureaucratic representatives.

(3) With few exceptions, local employers, leaders, and "target group" representatives comprise advisory committees and/or boards of directors which officially serve to set policy, advice on programs needed, and approve budgets and plans of work. Considerable variation exists between programs and between communities in the extent of influence and activity of these advisory bodies, with many of them performing what was referred to by some respondents as "rubber stamp" chores, while considerably more influence is wielded by others.

(4) The degree of flexibility allowed agency representatives to administer their local programs was though to be a key indicator of locality identification (see question 13, Agency Supplement, Appendix A). With few exceptions, the agency representatives cited one or more impediments to the degree of flexibility which they would prefer to meet local needs. The chief impediment was, as might be expected, funding. Either too little money to provide all the services needed or the inflexibility of funding periods were most often cited as the chief deterrents to flexibility. One agency representative expressed the sense of frustration evidenced by many others thusly: "Our (advisory committee) has not been especially useful (although they come) together and point up problems and needs and changes in programs. (But) by the nature of the bureaucratic organization, the agency's hands are tied in what they might do to meet the needs of the people point out. Can't make much change at the local level." Other reactions to local program flexibility from various community leaders will be cited later. It was significant that many echoed the lack of flexibility inherent in local offices of larger bureaucracies. and felt that programs should reflect local needs rather than fund availability.

Thus, a rather strong extra-local control was found to exist over the occupational socialization programs operating in the communities. Mitigation of strong extra-local control over agency programs was found to be closely associated with the extent and nature of involvement of community leaders in the programs. This relationship between programs and community leadership structure was, therefore, identified as a major issue in the job training phase just

as it was in the job creation phase of the manpower development process.

Extent and Nature of Leadership Involvement in Agency Programs

The sociological literature abounds with the contention and evidence that the relative success of many change efforts and action programs depends on the extent and nature of involvement of key community leaders. It is no less true that, if any such action or program is to make its maximum contribution to the community, there must be involvement of actors and associations by which and through which actions representing other interest areas are represented and coordinated. This is the essence of the community field (c.f., Kaufman, 1959) and a phenomenon of social interaction to which more attention will be paid in the last section of this chapter.

Four criteria were developed by which to measure the involvement of leading actors and associations in the job training efforts of the communities. Each criterion was designed to tap a different aspect of the extent and nature of involvement ranging from knowledge of the programs to board memberships to actively supporting or rejecting programs. The data used to compare the communities on these criteria were obtained from four sources: (1) in-depth interviews with agency representatives and studies of the agencies' histories in the communities; (2) newspaper accounts of involvement of actors and associations in agencies; (3) two questions asked of all respondents concerning their activities in job training programs and their knowledge of the programs and agencies operating in the communities (questions 8 and 16, General Schedule, Appendix A); and (4) membership lists of

advisory boards of agencies in the communities (question 17, Agency Supplement, Appendix A).

The data presented in Table 4-8 summarize the many pieces of data which were gathered using the procedures outlined above. They indicate general tendencies and are elaborated in the discussion which follows. These data suggest that the greatest degree of involvement was to be found in Hill City with Coastal City evidencing the least. Camellia and Delta Cities occupied intermediate positions on the continuum. A closer look at the data on each criterion elaborates these generalizations.

Table 4-8. Extent and Nature of Involvement in Job Training Programs by Leading Actors and Associations

Criterion	Hill	Camellia	Delta	Coastal
Positional Involvement	Extensive	Extensive	Moderate	Little
Knowledge of Programs	High	Moderate to High	Moderate	Moderate
Activity in Program Initiation	Extensive	Moderate to High	Little	Moderate
Activity in Program Coordination	Extensive	Moderate to Extensive	Moderate to Extensive	Little to None

Positional Involvement

Leaders in Hill and Camellia Cities were found to be more involved in terms of board and/or advisory committee memberships than were those in Delta and Coastal Cities. In Hill City, for example, two agencies (junior college and the community action agency) had either a board of

directors or an advisory committee. Three of the twelve Hill Countians serving on the community action agency's board[8] were also active members of the Community Development Association's (CDA) executive board and members of key committees in the Association. One-half (6 of 12) of the members of the vo-tech center's advisory committee were also members of the CDA executive board. One of the most active members of the CDA over a period of many years, the influential editor of the local newspaper, was on both boards.

In Camellia City, at least one-fourth of the 24-member advisory committee of the junior college vo-tech center were either locally elected officials or active members of the local Industrial Development Foundation and Chamber of Commerce. On investigation, it was found that the appointment of the latter group to the committee was a recent phenomenon. The appointments consummated a concerted effort by the industrial development group to become more actively involved in the job training efforts. That this breakthrough had come about was in no small way attributable to the fact that another Industrial Development Foundation official had shortly before been named to the junior college district board of trustees.

Leaders in Coastal and Delta Cities were not nearly so widely represented on boards, even though more agencies existed in both communities. Coastal agency boards were made up largely of representatives of the larger employers and unions in the area. These people were not characteristically active in the local chamber of commerce and other

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[8]Two other counties are served by the agency and provide board members.

leadership organizations.[9] In Delta City, on the other hand, few of the agencies had more than token representation of the white leadership structure, the majority of board members being black.[10] While the racial bifurcation is not as great as it once was, the board memberships hardly represented the dominant community leadership structure.

Knowledge of Programs

A question asked of approximately 75 of the 84 respondents interviewed asked them to name and specify the most important objectives of the training agencies in their communities (question 16, General Schedule, Appendix A). The data presented in Table 4-9 summarize the extent of knowledge found among the respondents. Few respondents in any of the communities were extremely knowledgeable about all the programs in their communities. Hill and Camellia City respondents, of course, had fewer programs of which to be aware and were more able to evidence knowledge of them. Even with more programs to account for, Delta and Coastal respondents were moderately aware of most of the programs in their respective communities. Many of them could name at least 75 percent of the programs and somewhat fewer could cite their chief objectives and some of the principal actors in them.

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[9] For example, the representation of unions and large employers on the two dominant agency boards were as follows: Coastal County Civic Action Agency (OEO) -- 33 percent (does not include "target area" representatives); Junior College Vo-Tech Center -- 80 percent.

[10] For example, only one white leader, the mayor, was a member of the board of directors of the local Community Action Program; no white leaders were represented on the junior college vo-tech advisory committee, nor on the board of the Concentrated Employment Program.

Table 4-9. Level of Program Knowledge of Respondents

Community	Percentage Naming at Least 75 Percent of Programs and Stating at Least One Principal Objective
Hill	75
Delta	53
Coastal	56
Camellia	75

Activity in Program Initiation

Considerable range was found to exist among the communities with respect to the extent and nature of leaders' activities in program initiation. In Hill City the Community Development Association was responsible for the establishment in the community of the junior college vo-tech complex and of the community action agency. CDA leaders have also been active in securing funds for a new vocational education building for the local high school. Kaufman (1970c) cites three ways in which the Hill City CDA sponsors development activities which are relevant to this discussion: (1) through the creation and continued support of committees or agencies; (2) through informal influence of CDA leaders; and (3) by initially organizing and sponsoring a program and them stimulating it to become autonomous. The latter technique was used in the establishment of the junior college and community action programs,[11] while the high school program has largely been supported by the second named method. Such efforts

[11] Records indicate that the funds and (in the case of the vo-tech center) housing for the initiation of these two programs came from key leaders and from the CDA. This support lasted until regular governmental support could be generated.

exemplify the kind of local initiative and planning which was found earlier to characterize the job creation efforts in Hill City. Instead of waiting for such programs and benefits to seek them out, local leaders have taken the initiative and sought out those programs and agencies providing the services most needed by local residents.

Camellia community leaders have also been rather active in the establishment of the high school and junior college vocational programs. In the mid-1960's the local junior college administration sought to prevent the establishment of a vocational complex (due, according to some respondents, to the fear of hastening integration). Local leaders actively fought the blockage with support from the editorial strength of the local newspaper publisher. All the actions in Camellia City have not supported program initiation, however. Recent attempts at establishing local offices of a federally-funded anti-poverty program were successfully fought by local leaders who felt the program offered nothing not already existing in the community. Much of what was said above regarding Hill City is obvious in these related efforts.

With few exceptions, the leadership structures in Delta and Coastal communities have been less active in program initiation efforts. The chief exception in Coastal was the threat on the part of the county board of supervisors to drop their financial support of the junior college district to which the county belongs if a vo-tech complex were not established in Coastal County. Two of the people most actively involved in the local chamber of commerce (one, the paid executive) reported that they had had no involvement in any job training program or agency.

Much the same can be said for Delta's leaders. Passive support on the part of white leaders has been given in the expansion of the vo-tech facilities at the local (predominantly black) junior college. Active intervention by the white leaders was unsuccessful some years ago as they attempted to prevent MDTA funds from going to the local junior college instead of to the predominantly white junior college in an adjacent county. In neither case was the leadership a significant factor in the eventual outcome.[12]

One exception was observed to the generalization concerning the lack of Delta City leaders' involvement in agency initiation. An interesting study by Mosley and Williams (1967:7-25) outlined the steps leading to the establishment of the local anti-poverty agency. A predominant white planter and "leader not only in (Delta) County but throughout Mississippi" was instrumental in bringing the need for the anti-poverty agency before the county board of supervisors and, subsequently, winning their approval of the program. A total of 14 white leaders was appointed to the advisory committee by the board of supervisors. One of them, a conservative attorney, was elected chairman of the committee. Represented among these 14 were many of the most prominent white leaders in the community. But, less than six months after the initiation under their leadership, all 14 resigned. They protested that the federal government was "trying to make a showplace of (Delta) County" and was giving them more projects and money than the agency needed. As indicated earlier,

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[12]It should, however, be pointed out that the local junior college has been represented successfully by the congressional delegate to Washington in its quest for funds in the recent vo-tech expansion.

the only white leader of any import left on the board of directors currently is the mayor.

Activity in Program Coordination

Coordinative actions were found also to differ widely, both in the methods used and in results. Again, Hill City's leaders were found to be most active in this regard. Indeed, it was both observed and echoed by the paid chamber of commerce executive in Camellia community that Hill's leaders are aware of any attempt by agencies toward non-cooperation and are willing and able to "bring them in line" when needed. As one of the more influential leaders in Hill City expressed it: "Coordination is best accomplished when interested citizens get involved in seeing that agencies do their proper work." This person, as did others, questioned the use of committees in this regard. He cited past examples of the advantages of telephone calls to state and regional leaders of local agency representatives whose programs were straying from community needs. A recent example of this type of coordination activity resulted in the replacement of the local community action agency executive because of actions on his part which were alledged to be contrary to the best interests of inter-agency coordination and to the needs of community residents.

Recent attempts of local leaders in Delta and Camellia Cities to effect agency coordination have taken different tacks, but neither has been in effect long enough to evaluate their results. A vocational education committee comprised of agency representatives, community leaders, and major employers was established through the

Delta County Chamber of Commerce in late 1971. Within six months the committee had met a number of times to survey the programs operating in the community, to establish committee goals, and to discuss mutual problems. According to some of the members, if the committee does nothing more than open channels of communication between the agencies, leaders, and employers it will have served an invaluable service because, as so many have stated, the links are currently almost non-existent.

Some evidence exists in Camellia City which supports the contention that inter-agency coordination may be evolving through a series of overlapping board memberships. For example, a former Industrial Development Foundation chairman and active community leader was serving as the chairman of the local school board and as a member of the junior college board of trustees. As indicated earlier, other leaders were active in industrial development and were also members of the high school and/or junior college vocational advisory committees.

Little evidence existed to indicate that any organized attempt to coordinate programs was extant in Coastal City. The only activity which overtly served a coordinative role was the establishment, in 1970, of a task force committee on vocational education comprised of agency and labor representatives and local leaders. It, along with other such committees in health, education, and others, met to outline needs, establish priorities, and to submit budget requests to Washington. Upon completing its task it was disbanded and, to the knowledge of none of the leaders interviewed, has it ever met since. One leader noted the disbanding of the task force committee

as the demise of a potentially valuable agency in bringing about a much needed coordination of job training agencies in the community.

Thus, the involvement of local leaders in job training efforts was found to vary between communities in both extent and nature. It should be remembered that such variation was also found with respect to leaders' involvement in job creation activities. In both instances, Hill City's leaders were found to surpass those in the other communities in terms of means-end articulation, active and initiating involvement in goal attainment, and in the degree of success in attaining goals. It should also be pointed out that only in Hill City and Camellia City were the same leaders found to be active in both job creation and in job training efforts to any extent. This, of course, may change if the newly-established vocational education committee produces any success in Delta City. These considerations lead directly into the issue of program coordination which serves as the focus of the following analysis.

Extent of Agency Coordination

The two key processes in community development were described in Chapter One as differentiation and coordination. The former has been articulated thus far in the elaborations of the occupational and industrial structures of the communities and of the job training programs and agencies operating in the communities. The latter process was the focus of much of the discussion of leadership involvement in job creation and job training. The issue of agency coordination is such a crucial one, however, that additional elaboration is demanded.

Wilkinson (1969:33) has contended that coordination among the interest areas of a community "seems to be essential if there is to be structural continuity." Ross (1967:53) also underlines the importance of the process which he terms "community integration" when he contends that it is "a quality of community life that emerges in action, as people rub shoulders in common tasks, as people share consciously in common projects, as they seek common goals." Stated thusly, the process appears deceptively simplistic when, in fact, coordination of community programs is extremely problematic. In speaking of the problematical nature of coordination among job training programs and agencies, McCauley (1970:2) says:

> The number of different programs that have been established has increased the need for careful planning and coordination to avoid confusion and duplication of services, and to insure the most effective utilization of the limited resources available.

The alternative to coordination, according to the Hoover Commission (1952), is conflict among programs. Such conflict, the Commission contends, results from many factors, including the following:

1. Multiple agencies with overlapping responsibilities.
2. Statutory inconsistencies coupled with interpersonal differences of opinions in interaction.
3. Differing concepts of administrative accountability.
4. The lack of coordinative efforts initiated at the outset of programs.
5. Ineffective coordinative efforts.

That many of these conditions exist in the area of job training has been attested. Multiple agencies with overlapping responsibilities have been found in all four communities. Statutory inconsistencies

and different concepts of administrative accountability result from the involvement of so many different state and federal bureaus, each with its different funding and administrative patterns, enabling legislations, and operating ideologies.

With respect to coordinative efforts, the communities have been shown to differ in terms of the extent of coordinative actions of leaders. While this is an important element of inter-agency coordination, it is not the only factor which must be considered in assessing the degree of coordination existing between the agencies of a community. The remainder of this discussion will focus on some of these other factors and compare the four study communities with respect to them.

The typology presented in Table 4-9 was compiled using data gathered by in-depth interviews with agency representatives and leaders. In addition to the questionnaire items mentioned above relative to leaders' actions in coordination, other items used included: (1) a question asking agency representatives the major source of their operating funds (question 12, Agency Supplement, Appendix A); (2) a question asking for the level at which local agencies' plans of work are approved (question 13, Agency Supplement); (3) a question asking whether or not the agencies had lay citizen advisory committees or boards (question 17, Agency Schedule); (4) a series of questions concerning the presence or absence in the community of a committee or other group which served to coordinate the total job training effort (question 27, General Schedule); (5) a question asked primarily of agency representatives, but also of selected key leaders in each community concerning the relationships

between agencies in the community (question 36, Agency Supplement); (6) a question asked of employers, agency representatives, and selected key leaders concerning the relationships between the agencies and employers in the community (questions 33, Employer Supplement and 36, Agency Supplement); and (7) a series of questions asked of agency representatives concerning specific examples of cooperative efforts in eight administrative and action areas (question 33 a-h, Agency Supplement).

It should be pointed out that because of the large number of job training agencies existing in the communities, especially Delta and Coastal, generalizations about coordination are difficult and what might be said about the relationship between any two agencies might not be true about any other two. The model to be presented below points to characteristics rather than articulating sets of relationships, such as might be found in interorganizational matrices. It is, however, useful in that it pulls together in one model many of the factors deemed important in studies of coordination or integration by interorganizational theorists (c.f., Warren, 1971a) and by community field theorists (c.f., Wilkinson, 1969 and Kaufman and Dasgupta, 1968). Thus, it suggests the importance of a knowledge of community structure and leadership in the study of inter-agency coordination by emphasizing the community as an action arena within which coordination is facilitated or inhibited. The factors on which the communities are compared in Table 4-10 range from characteristics of the agencies themselves to inter-agency characteristics to community characteristics. Many of these will not be singled out

for discussion because they are either self-explanatory or they have been discussed before.

Table 4-10. Comparison of Study Communities on Factors Associated with Coordination of Job Training Programs

Factors	Hill	Camellia	Delta	Coastal
Number of Agencies	Few	Few	Many	Many
Source of Funds	Extra-local	Extra-local	Extra-local	Extra-local
Approval of Plans of Work	Extra-local	Extra-local	Extra-local	Extra-local
Lay Boards or Advisory Committees	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Overlapping Board Memberships	Many	Many	Few	Few
Leader Involvement in Programs	Active	Moderately active	Laissez-faire to moderately active	Laissez-faire
Leaders on Boards and Committees	Many	Many	Few	Few
Local Coordinative Structure	Yes	No	Yes	No
Special Coordinative Action(s)	Yes	No	No	No
Inter-agency Planning	Some	Little	Little	Little or none

Number of Agencies

The number of agencies is considered important because of Simmel's theories about the complicating effects of group size on

interaction and because of findings by Litwak and Hylton (1961) concerning the negative correlation between number of organizations and ease of coordination. Hence, it is contended herein that the greater number of job training agencies, the more difficult the task of coordination.[13] These differences by community have been expounded. A major problem which comes from the increased numbers of such agencies in a community is that of program duplication and inefficiency. Greenleigh Associated (1968:1) found, in an extensive study of job training programs in several major cities, that:

> There is waste and inefficiency and -- to a much more limited extent -- duplication, in the training programs as presently operated.

Insofar as inefficiency is to be adjudged by placement of people on jobs after training, this part of the findings receives some support in the next chapter of this thesis. With respect to duplication, agencies were asked to list the services offered their clientele (question 21, Agency Supplement). The data in Table 4-11 indicate the number of agencies offering the services indicated.

These data suggest that, even if each of these agencies were catering their services to a different segment of the population, there is ample opportunity for duplication of effort. The fact that certain elements of the population (minority, disadvantaged, unemployed, household head) were named as the predominant clientele by most of these agencies in Tables 4-4 through 4-7 suggests that there is, in fact, duplication of services. In the paraphrased

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[13]The study by Mosley and Williams (1967) cite the number of agencies in Delta County as being a prime contributor to inter-agency duplication and lack of coordination.

words of a local Employment Security Commission official: "If your're an unemployed, disadvantaged member of a minority group in this community there are many programs vying to offer their services to you; white, underemployed persons who either won't or can't qualify for help under the programs are bypassed."

Source of Funds and Plan Approval

With few exceptions all the agencies in each community were funded and had their plans approved at extra-local levels. Much literature on interorganizational analysis suggests the deleterious effects of these twin situations on coordination (c.f.: Litwak and Hylton, 1961; Levine and White, 1961; Evan, 1965; Buell, et al., 1952).

Table 4-11. Number of Agencies Offering the Services Indicated

Service	Hill	Delta	Coastal	Camellia
Basic education	3	2	2	2
Skill training	3	7	4	4
Institutionalized teaching	3	7	3	4
On-the-job training	3	5	5	2
Transportation	2	3	2	
Work experience	2	6	4	2
Physical and/or mental rehabilitation	2	6	4	1
Counseling	4	9	7	4
Job placement	5	9	6	4
Follow-up	5	9	5	4
Other	3	6	5	2

This was partially offset by the fact that most of the agencies studied were required to have local lay boards or advisory committees, a factor indicating a degree of dependence on local needs and desires

in program planning and implementation.[14] It needs to be reiterated here that the communities did, however, differ with respect to the degree of overlap among board membership, an important factor in coordination (c.f.: Evan, 1965; Wilkinson, 1969).

Leadership Involvement and Coordinative Activities and Structures

Involvement of leaders in coordination has been discussed as has the presence of leaders on agency boards. These are important in the present context as they relate to the integration of job training to other interest areas in the community. An important aspect of what has been termed the integrative process occurs when leaders representing many different interest areas interact through associations which tie together agencies of the various interest areas. In this regard a consideration of coordinative structures and coordinative actions is needed. In Hill City and Delta City structured coordination was provided through committees sponsored by the Community Development Association and the Chamber of Commerce, respectively. No such structures were found in Camellia and Coastal Cities.

Only one action which could be pointed to as a special effort at coordinating activities covering a wide range of interest areas was found to have occurred in any county. This was a special Veteran's Assistance Day held in Hill City in mid-1971 in which cooperative planning among many agencies representing many sectors of the community resulted in assistance to several thousand former servicemen in their search for training, jobs, and other support. The only other evidence found of cooperative planning was that prescribed by

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[14] A hidden factor with great relevance here is the importance placed on such boards and committees. This ranges from mere "rubber stamp" supporters of the plans of agency functionaries to actual policy making bodies. This is an extremely important comparative factor, but outside the scope of the present discussion.

bureaucratic edicts which requires "signing off" of all agencies on each fund request submitted by other agencies.

In summarizing this final issue of job training, it appears that agency coordination has been achieved to a greater extent in Hill City than in other communities. This finding provides further corraboration to earlier findings relative to other issues in job training. The typology developed in this discussion needs refinement, but it does suggest a useful instrument for the study of inter-agency coordination as a correlate of the process of integration of the community field.

Summary

Job training as an element of the manpower development process has been explored in this chapter. Numerous issues of importance in the study of job training as a community interest area were analyzed by comparing the four study communities. The final phase of the process, job placement, is the focus of the next chapter. The significance of job creation and job training in this last phase will be of prime importance in this discussion.

CHAPTER V

JOB PLACEMENT

If "the proof of the pudding is in the tasting," it is appropriate in the present context to say that the proof of job creation and job training is in job placement. It should be obvious by now that the latter process is made possible and/or facilitated by the first and second processes. What is not so obvious is the fact that the first two do not automatically and unerringly culminate in the latter. For example, the jobs created may require skills and competencies not found to a significant degree in the local labor force or require them in such quantities that local training programs cannot supply them fast enough. Thus, placement of local people may not necessarily be facilitated by the creation of large numbers of jobs if imported labor must be relied on to fill the majority of the positions. On the other hand, training agencies may be producing large numbers of trainees, but for various reasons they may not be placed in local industries and businesses.

The focus, in Chapter Three, was on how job creation proceeded in the four study communities -- in response to the skills and needs of local people in Hill City; with emphasis on economic development in Coastal City; and in a rather unsystematic manner in Camellia and Delta Cities. In Chapter Four, the focus was on the manner in which job training agencies have been rationally sought and integrated in Hill and Camellia Cities as opposed to how they have proliferated in Coastal and Delta Cities to meet the special needs of certain elements of the communities. Only peripheral attention has been paid the manner by which the people and the jobs come together.

The process of job placement in the broad context implied here is a complex affair. In effect, it is the outcome of the total ameliorative effort of which job creation and job training are major components. Considering its complexity it might be expected to be problematic. Unemployment and underemployment, high rates of out-migration, the frustrations of poverty, and the cutbacks in production and sales may be among the major symptoms of disjunctures between placement and job creation and/or job training. The processes and reported successes of placement in each of the study communities will be compared in this chapter. The major focus will be on an empirical and conceptual analysis of the possible causes and outcomes of the disjuncture between placement and job creation and/or job training. Discussion of these issues will follow the brief analysis of the placement process in the communities.

The Placement Process

An adage states that "everybody's business is nobody's business." In essence this adage holds that if the responsibility for a particular job is not delegated to a particular person or group, but left undefinedly to many individuals or groups, the job is not done most effectively. In applying this adage to the job placement process, it implies that some one agency in a local community should have the primary responsibility for placement if it is to be most effective. The alternative is the situation in which each agency providing occupational socialization services is responsible for placing its own trainees. As the analysis which follows indicates elements of both were evident in all four study communities.

The first two stated objectives of the public Employment Service[1] are:

1. To aid, through an effective employment service operation, in getting the best possible jobs for all job seekers, whether employed or unemployed, and the best possible workers for employers.

2. To assist in the improvement and full utilization of all the community's manpower resources in the development and expansion of employment opportunities, and in achieving economic stabilization and growth.

The former deals with placement specifically; the latter with manpower training and development. The latter objective is accomplished in the study communities, as pointed out in the preceding chapter, through such programs as MDTA, STEP, JOBS, CEP, and others. The job placement function is the present focus.

Because of its crucial position in the community with respect to knowledge of the needs of employers and employees, the Employment Service (ES) is often regarded as <u>the</u> placement agency in many communities. It is not surprising to find that many officials of the ES come to jealously guard this conception of their agency. One such official stated the case in his area as being one in which too many agency representatives were making direct contacts with employers. He preferred that all agencies funnel their requests for placement slots through the local ES office. Contacts from so many agencies, he contended, bring about confusion among employers and difficulty in establishing coordination among agencies.

In an effort to determine the extent of agency contact with employers, agency representatives were asked to list their agency's major service offerings (question 21, Agency Supplement, Appendix A).

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[1]As stated in a pamphlet published by Public Employment Service.

The data in Table 5-1 summarizing the number of agencies making placement and follow-up contacts in each community indicate that these efforts are, indeed, "everybody's business."

Table 5-1. Number of Agencies in Each Community Listing "Placement" and "Follow-up" as Services Offered to Clientele

Community	Job Placement	After Placement Follow-Up
Hill	5	5
Delta	9	9
Coastal	6	5
Camellia	4	4

Faced with placement requests from this number of agencies, local employers might well decline them all, thereby severing communication lines and adding further problems to inter-agency coordination.

Other ES officials echoed the feelings against a number of agencies making contacts. One problem pointed up by some is the bureaucratically inevitable one of what might be termed the "numbers game." In funding, program evaluation, and the like the most obvious evidence of successful completion of the principal task (i.e., placement) is the percentage of applicants placed and/or total numbers placed. If other agencies are placing without referrals to ES, this reflects negatively on ES. This is especially the case with respect to programs such as MDTA (Institutional) in which ES recruits and screens the trainees and sends them to a vocational education facility for training. By design, the ES is responsible for placement of the trainees after training. In most cases, however, many of the more "placeable" trainees are placed directly from the

training center. In some reported cases placements are made without prior knowledge of the ES. The trainees left for ES placement are, in many cases, those that are most difficult to place; hence, placements reportable by the ES may be rather low. The ES official in one of the communities made reference to this kind of practice, however, by contending that he cared more that people get placed than he did about "who got the credit" for the placements.

For the most part, placement in all four communities was a rather nebulous process. With the major exception of Coastal City, in which the shipyards hired almost all of the graduates of the several programs, no other community was characterized by such a clear-cut placement process. The following analyses by community are based on the responses of agency representatives to a series of questions requesting information concerning placement percentages, locale of placement, and training relatedness of placement (questions 31 and 32, Agency Schedule, Appendix A).

One major limitation of the data should be pointed up at the outset. For whatever reason, gaining access to data reflecting placement was found to be difficult at best, and impossible in most cases. Hence, with rare exceptions, the "data" reported represent agency representatives' statements rather than recorded facts and figures. In the absence of the latter, these must suffice; but, caveat emptor. Because of these difficulties it was deemed necessary to check agency placement data against reported employment by the employers interviewed. For this purpose, a series of questions was asked of employers which requested data on the major sources of

training for their employees, program availability, and major sources of employees for their firms (questions 13-18, Employer Supplement, Appendix A).

Coastal City

The placement process in Coastal City is, for the most part, relatively simple with the tremendous demands for trained manpower by the shipyards. Almost without exception, all of the on-the-job training programs sponsored by the Employment Service, STAR, Inc., and other agencies are contracted with the shipyards. Likewise, seven of the fourteen courses taught in the vo-tech center of the local junior college are teaching skills predominant in the shipyards. Hence, those graduates who do not go to work in the shipyards immediately after finishing an institutional or on-the-job training course are rare. The general feeling among interviewees in the community seemed to be that training and placement services are overly gratuitous in their response to the needs of the shipyards. Indeed, 75 percent of those asked expressed the opinion that training agencies devoted too much of their efforts to meeting the shipyards' needs for manpower. These facts and opinions must, however, be weighed against the fact that many skilled workers leave the shipyards after receiving their training and go to work for other local industries. Hence, training and placement services are provided for these other industries by the shipyards.

Hill City

Placement in Hill City is somewhat more problematic but, due to the progression of employees from job to job as their skill

competencies improve, the demands on formal placement agencies are less severe. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, the local vo-tech complex facilitates this progression by providing training for large numbers of "supplementary" enrollees. Placement of these students is no problem because most of them are already working. For the 25 percent or so of the student population enrolled as full-time students, placement rates were reported by agency representatives at approximately 75-80 percent. These are placed locally, for the most part, in manufacturing and sales and service industries predominantly in the skill area for which they were trained. Employment Service representatives reported a "very high" placement rate for the trainees produced by the MDTA (Institutional) program. This was attributed largely to the fact that the majority of the trainees are in either general office clerk or Licensed Professional Nurse courses and are hired by local businesses and the hospital (the largest single employer in the community). The only other training programs in the community were some MDTA/OJT and JOBS contracts with local employers. These trainees are trained on the job, and their placement is less problematic because the large majority are employed by the employer under whom they have been trained.[2]

Despite the lofty placement percentages reported by the agencies, the data from Hill City indicate that a rather large proportion of

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[2]Mangum (1967) and Levitan and Margum (1967) report a proportionately higher placement rate for on-the-job-trainees than for institutionally trained trainees due largely to preferences of employers for hiring individuals with whom they are familiar, trained in ways with which they are familiar.

new employees are hired through informal means and trained, either in-plant or at the junior college, at the firm's expense. For example, with the lone exception of the hospital, only one major employer indicated that his firm relied on any agency or agencies for as many as 50 percent of his hirings. Three of the largest furniture, hardware, and lighting fixture manufacturers in the community (combined work force of approximately 1265) indicated that they hired from "few to none" to "25-30" of their new employees each year through training agencies. Three employers (total of approximately 1800 employees) indicated that they occasionally sent employees to the junior college to be upgraded at the firm's expense. One large furniture manufacturer said that his total training effort is done on the job at the firm's expense.

Before leaving Hill City a paraphrased statement made by one of the largest employers in the community and CDA board member provides an interesting summation:

> "Junior college vo-tech students are basically unemployable. People who are employable to begin with don't need junior college training; such training may shorten on-the-job training some, but they're still going to have to be trained in the plant. Many of these programs may be developed only because funds are available, rather than to meet community needs."

Camellia City

Much the same situation found in Hill City was true in Camellia City except that local employment opportunities were less abundant and local placement was more problematic. As reported in Chapter Three, the major manufacturing jobs in the community were in the needle crafts and unskilled and semi-skilled woodworking and

metal-working trades; none of these employ large numbers of people for whom training courses are available or appropriate. The local junior college vo-tech director quite frankly reported that generally his welding and machinist graduates must leave the community to find well-paid employment.[3] Graduates of other courses, he said, have more success finding local employment.

Similar to the situation in Hill City, the vo-tech complex is primarily used by local employers as a source of upgrading for their employees. Only one major employer reported using vo-tech services in initial placement, and he indicated that his biggest complaint with the vo-tech center was that they could not put out enough trainees to satisfy his needs. Interestingly enough, his principal needs for trained people were in the machinist and welding skills. The local high school vo-tech program had not been in existence long enough to accumulate a placement history, but the director reported that, thus far, many of his students have continued their educations beyond high school rather than take a job.

The relationship between the MDTA director and the Employment Service is such that placement of the woodworking trainees is probably the least problematic of the MDTA programs studied in the four communities. One prime reason for this difference is that the local ES office encourages the MDTA director and teacher to assist in the selection and screening process. He maintains close contact with the trainers and the trainees during the course and

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[3] Many of these make their way the 100-plus miles to the east and employment in the Coastal City shipyards.

does not jealously guard the placement of trainees as the function of ES. The result is a cooperative spirit between the two offices and an MDTA training program which is iconoclastic in its approach to upgrading the unskilled.[4] One further word about this particular ES office. Only one employer interviewed indicated that he never used the ES to fill vacancies. Four others with a combined work force well in excess of 1,000 employees indicated that they used these placement services in moderate to extensive degrees. This type of response was somewhat unique to Camellia City.

Delta City

Placement in Delta City was found to be the most problematic of the four communities. The combination of few occupational opportunities and many training programs, each one doing (or attempting) its own placement, makes for an extremely nebulous situation. Realistic appraisals by local agency functionaries indicate the problematic nature of the placement effort in the community. One such official stated the dual horns of the dilemma as that of trying to get local employers to accept the types of people which predominate

[4]The MDTA program has been scorned through the years as a haven for those who "don't want to work" or "who would rather be paid for going to school than going to work," among other vices. The fact that the relationship reported above is not necessarily typical is attested by a statement from an ES official in another community: "We find that our MDTA trainees are, in many cases, easier to place before training than after attending the MDTA course. They learn bad work habits, poor attitudes, and unusable skills." That the contrary was found in the Camellia program is documented and attests to the contention of many that programs, regardless of the intent or purpose, are seldom any better or worse than the officials guiding them make them.

the programs on the one hand, and the equally difficult task of changing the image of the agencies in the minds of employers on the other.

One of the most pervasive images which employers and leaders had of the training agencies was implicitly or explicitly stated in the interviews of fully 75 percent of those interviewed. It is stated in paraphrased form from a four-hour interview with one of the leading manufacturers in the community: "I'm concerned about the racial overtones of the programs. They would be more acceptable to local employers if they weren't so heavily oriented toward blacks." Such an image does not necessarily carry with it negative consequences, however. One agency representative stated the opposite side of the case: 'We are considered the champion of the underprivileged and black. Many times if anyone is going to integrate their work force, they come to us." This attitude seems to pervade many of the programs and it is a worthy enough objective, but it is hardly one that matches large numbers of people to jobs.

Interviews with six of the major employers revealed the following facts regarding their use of agencies for filling vacancies in their firms: only two firms reported obtaining all of their employees from one or more agencies (one of these was the hospital, the largest employer in the community), while four reported that they got from 75 percent to all of their employers through informal channels (friend and relative referrals and walk-ons). A questionnaire mailed to 88 local employers under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce was returned by a total of 29 employers representing a wide diversity of

industries and firm sizes. In response to a question asking: "From which of the following sources do you get your employees?" these employers reflected the lack of use of agencies. As the data summarized in Table 5-2 indicate, a large proportion of the total sources mentioned were the informal type such as walk-ins, referrals from friends and relatives, and newspaper advertisements. Less than one in three of the sources reported were formal training agencies.

Table 5-2. Number of Employers Reporting Hirings from the Sources Indicated

Source	Number Reporting Hirings*
Training Agencies	22
Informal Sources	45
Other	9

*Totals more than 29, due to multiple sources reported by many employers.

Much of the foregoing discussion has of necessity dealt with generalizations based largely on the suppositions of agency personnel in the communities. In the absence of more concrete data supporting the contended placement rates, they must be carefully weighed against the contentions of employers that their usage of placement and training agencies' services is restricted. These disjunctures were less problematic in Coastal and Hill Cities because occupational structural differentiation in the two communities is sufficient to allow for some flexibility between training and placement. In the case of Hill City, in addition, it could be contended that the more direct and intense involvement of leaders in the efforts to relate training and

job creation to each other in a developmental sequence has resulted in a more efficient placement effort. The operation of the Community Relations Association referred to earlier has also had a profound positive effect on placement efforts in Hill City.

The cases in Camellia and Delta communities were different, however. Here the disjunctures were problematic and point up three issues which are correlated with such disjunctures. They are issues with significant implications for the analyst, community leaders, and agency functionaries. If the manpower development process is to be clearly articulated and most efficiently oriented toward community needs, they must be resolved.

Impediments to Placement

The first issue to be considered deals with the factors contributing to the disjuncture between placement and training and/or development of jobs. It has already been pointed out that, in many cases, agency placement claims were not corraborated by employer reports and that employers voiced some reservations concerning the use of agency services. This failure to utilize the services of agencies is the focus of this discussion of the impediments to placement as perceived by various groups in the communities. The major portion of the discussion is based on data from Delta and Camellia Cities because the problem was most severe in these communities. Where the responses of Hill or Coastal respondents are relevant, they will be included and designated. Three groups will be compared: leaders, employers, and agency personnel.

Community Leaders

The basic impediment to placement as seen by the leaders in both Delta and Camellia Cities was that the people for whom the training programs were designed were not of the quality that local employers demand. As the mayor of one of the communities stated, "I do not hire these trainees in my business because they are not high enough calibre to meet the public and portray the image that I desire in my shops." Another leader cited what he considered to be several major impediments to placement:

1. Agencies must refer applicants to employers on a "first-come - first served" basis, rather than in a rational attempt at matching skill needs with applicant abilities and characteristics.

2. Agencies are not perceived as doing a good job of training the participants for the skill requirements of industry and business.

3. A majority of program participants are perceived as being enrolled in the program to avoid work and responsibility and to draw the stipend.

One or more of these attitudes were expressed in various forms by fully 75 percent leaders in all four communities.

Two other impediments were voiced by leaders in Hill City and echoed by various leaders and employers in both Delta and Camellia. First, agencies were perceived as being "fund oriented" rather than "needs oriented." That is, employer and trainee needs were not the principal criteria in program design and administration; rather, the availability of funds and their stipulations were perceived to be the dominant criteria. This goal confusion results in a disparity between needs and services and a subsequent impediment to placement of program recipients. Secondly, instructors were perceived as being

inadequately trained and inexperienced in the subjects being taught. The results, these leaders contended, are improperly trained graduates which are unacceptable to business and industry.

Employers

It should be no surprise to find that the impediments to placement perceived by leaders were quite similar to those perceived by employers. Each of the factors mentioned above was mentioned by employers in all or most of the communities. The factor most often mentioned by employers, however, was almost unique to them. Their labor needs, they contended, did not demand the kinds of training being provided program participants. A number of employers stated the problem in words to this effect:

> If they (the agencies) would concentrate on teaching work attitudes, employer-employee relationships, respect for a job well-done, etc., we (the employers) will provide these people with the skills they need on the job at our machines, at our expense, and using our personnel as teachers.

The nature of the predominant labor needs in Hill, Delta, and Camellia communities was such that provision of attitudes, social relations, and work ethic rather than hard skills would, no doubt, suffice. It was in these communities that this need was most widely expressed. The needs for skilled persons being greater in Coastal City, employers were more disposed toward desiring skilled employees -- whether from an agency or from another firm.

Training Agencies

Not unexpectedly, the perceived impediments to placements shared by training agency personnel differed sharply from those of leaders

and employers. The feeling expressed above that agencies (especially the ES) refer applicants to employers on a "first come - first served" basis was categorically rejected by all agency representatives questioned. On the contrary, many said applicants are carefully screened and only those who meet requirements submitted by the employer are referred. The one requirement which they cannot, by law, meet is the frequent requests for a particular ratio of blacks or whites. Several agency representatives cited this as a problem with many employers who stipulate "white applicants only." This stipulation cannot be obeyed; if there are blacks and whites on file in the agency, both must be sent if they otherwise meet the requirements of the job.

Representatives of two of the major agencies in Delta and Camellia Cities cited another crucial impediment to placement. To paraphrase these respondents: "In this community with few job openings and with many unemployed and underemployed people searching for work, employers don't have to court us for employees." This theme has been traced throughout the entire discussion of the various phases of the manpower development process. It is too simple to say that what these two communities need is more job opportunities, but this is certainly a crucial need in solving the problematic nature of job placement.

A point alluded to in various forms in this and the previous chapters is related to the problems confronting placement. The problem of coordination acutely affects the employer-agency relationship and is most crucial to placement. A lack of consensus regarding the proper roles which agencies and employers are to play in manpower development may create a lack of trust between them which results in poor placement rates.

To test this aspect of employer-agency relations, a series of questions was used which asked which group(s) performed the following actions: determination of training needs, setting of training standards, and designing of training programs (questions 20, 22, and 24, General Schedule, Appendix A). The data from Hill, Delta, and Camellia Cities[5] are summarized in Tables 5-3 through 5-5.

Table 5-3. Percentage Distribution of Responses Indicating Which Group Performs Designated Actions: Hill City

Performed by:	Determination of Needs	Setting of Standards	Program Design
Training Agencies alone	30	43	57
Employers	-	6	-
Jointly	70	30	14
Don't know	-	6	14
Other	-	15	14

Table 5-4. Percentage Distribution of Responses Indicating Which Group Performs Designated Actions: Delta City

Performed by:	Determination of Needs	Setting of Standards	Program Design
Training Agencies alone	50	83	84
Employers	10	6	-
Jointly	5	-	-
Don't know	25	11	16
Other	10	-	-

Two important factors are obvious in these data. First, Hill City respondents indicated that agencies and employers were working jointly in these important aspects of training to a greater extent

[5]The data from Coastal are not included due to a large number of "no information" responses.

Table 5-5. Percentage Distribution of Responses Indicating Which Group Performs Designated Actions: Camellia City

Performed by:	Determination of Needs	Setting of Standards	Program Design
Training Agencies alone	36	64	50
Employers	-	-	-
Jointly	29	20	10
Don't know	14	16	40
Other	14	-	-

than did respondents in either Delta and Camellia Cities. Delta respondents felt strongly that these functions were being predominantly performed by agencies alone. Secondly, these data portray the perceptions of what is being done. Questions asking what should be done in these regards (questions 21, 23, and 25, General Schedule) were overwhelmingly (75 percent or more in every instance) answered by the response, "Jointly." This difference indicates that a gap exists in this important coordinative link which may account, in part, for the distrust of agencies and the concomitant disjuncture in the placement process.

Job Training in Slack Job Markets

A classic example of one of the most crucial problems confronting successful fulfillment of the ultimate purpose of job training exists in Delta and Camellia Cities. That is, in the absence of a well-developed occupational structure with free and extensive movement of community residents into and within the structure, what is to be the purpose and expected results of job training? Kaufman (1970c) states one well-publicized outcome of training in the absence of jobs:

> Development specialists have frequently pointed out that educated and trained people frequently become frustrated and join radical political movements from job opportunities are lacking.

It was suggested earlier that when job development precedes or occurs concomitantly with job training, successful placement is facilitated. The above quote calls up the less-successful alternative. A number of respondents in both Delta and Camellia spoke of the dilemma in various ways. The president of the predominantly black junior college in Delta City spoke of the role of job training as being that of training people to participate in the labor market, either locally or in some other community if local opportunities do not exist. Likewise, an agency representative in Camellia City cited the plight of trained graduates of his programs when he said that he encouraged many of them to leave the community to find well-paying jobs in more dynamic occupational structures. The attitudes of these respondents reflect the philosophy that if there are people in the community who need training to aid their entrance into the labor market, then training must be provided, even if jobs are not readily available in the community.

Another philosophy which runs somewhat contrary to this was expressed by many respondents in all four communities. In essence, it holds that job training offerings must, above all other considerations, reflect the needs of employers for skilled employees. This philosophy is quite logical and defensible, but it fails to consider the role of agencies in communities like Delta and Camellia in which the needs of employers are not great enough to demand such training programs. The dialectical nature of the issue is highlighted by the

fact that, even though jobs are not available locally, local residents' needs do not disappear. The title of this particular section, "Job Training in Slack Job Markets," might very well have a subtitle, "Or, What to do 'til the Jobs Come." What has been done in some cases, the rationale behind it, and some dissenting views is the focus of the last issue in this chapter.

Mobility and the American Labor Force

Social scientists and policy makers such as Andrew Biemiller (1969) have long described the high degree of mobility of the American labor force. Statistics indicate that the average employee will change occupations "X" number of times (depending on the statistics cited) during his life and that the average length of time spent on each job will be "X" years. The assumption of mobility is the basis of the first strategy named above for training in slack job markets. That is, it is assumed that once trained, an individual may rather easily migrate to jobs in other communities.[6] Although quite unlike the average mobile job-changer in other ways, black farm workers from the rural South (and, more recently, Chicanos from the rural Southwest) have also evidence a high degree of mobility. The changed occupational structures cited in Chapter Three are vivid testimony to the migration rates of blacks out of the South and into the cities of the mid-West, East, and West.

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[6]The recently-established Job Bank, sponsored by the Department of Labor through State Employment Security Commissions is also founded on the assumption that people will go where the jobs are, if only they are aware of the opportunities and requirements. Through a state-wide tele-communications system, instantaneous transmittal of job openings is designed to make these opportunities known to job seekers.

It is easy when confronted with such evidence to assume that such propensity to migrate pervades the society and that, given training, people will find jobs. It is the contention of this paper, and of many respondents in all four study communities, that this is a gross overgeneralization. One of the most crucial issues facing community developers, manpower experts, and others concerns the non-mobile minority of people who, unlike water, do not seek their own level, job-wise. They are by-passed due to the overgeneralized conception of mobility.

Among the factors overlooked when high rates of spatial mobility are categorically assumed are age, sex, and marital status; employment status; educational level; familial size; and primary group ties to locality. Research has shown these to be crucial variables in differentiating the mobile from the non-mobile, spatially. Williams (1968), Bryant and Wilber (1961), Fuller (1970), Abt Associates (1970), and others report data which basically indicate that those people who are most likely to be spatially mobile differ from non-migrants in the following tangible ways: they are younger; somewhat better educated; have fewer family responsibilities; have been employed (if at all) for shorter periods of time; and have primary ties with relatives or friends who have already migrated.

But what about the non-mobile? The president of the predominantly black Delta County Junior College described them thusly:

> The unemployed and underemployed are more fearful of migrating. However dire his circumstances are (in his community), he has mastered the art of living there; he has established credit at local stores (albeit at exorbitant rates in many cases) and he has found a way to solve his everyday problems. There are those who help him out in times of emergency; he has friends. If he moves, he may not have these safeguards.

The respondent went on to cite an example of people living in the ghettoes of large cities who, having established friendship patterns, may be reluctant because of these factors to move into different, even more affluent, conditions if offered the chance.

In short, the non-migrant is motivated more by the ties to place and by a fear or rejection of unknown situations than by the pull of economic betterment. An official of the shipyards in Coastal City bore witness to this point as he recounted an incident (doubtlessly an example of an oft-occurring phenomenon in that community) in which a displaced rural worker came to Coastal City to work in the shipyards. This person drove into the city at the hour of shift changes in the shipyards. Ensnarled in unaccustomed traffic, delayed by a raised drawbridge, and hopelessly confused by the pace of the industrial city, the potential employee went back home before he ever started to work. These respondents' experiences and attitudes toward the immobility of a significant minority of persons in the study communities and, more generally, through the nation were echoed by all the respondents who were asked to comment on this issue.

Labor mobility efforts such as STAR (offices of which are located in Delta and Coastal Cities) have reported moderate levels of success in assisting unemployed and underemployed persons in relocating. These agencies aid such people with training stipends, financial aid in the process of moving, and assistance at the destination point in locating jobs, health, education and welfare services, as well as the many other supportive services which are needed by these people in making a successful move (see, e.g., Huff, 1970 and Kleibrink and

Ruesink, 1971). Modest successes such as this notwithstanding, the literature is generally supportive of a statement made in Camellia City by an Employment Service supervisor who has been in the job placement business many years:

> Lower levels of the labor force are not mobile. Basically, they fear new situations. The answer is to get jobs to where they are (emphasis in his statement).

Summary

Thus, we have come full circle. The statement has been made that "job training which doesn't start with job development, doesn't start, and that job training which doesn't end in job placement, ends." If the suppositions and findings reported in this chapter are correct, an additional statement is needed: "Job placement which doesn't start with the support of job development and job training, doesn't start; and that job training which doesn't start with job development ends (at least for a significant segment of the population) short of placement."

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The focus of this thesis has been on manpower development as an integral phase of comprehensive community development. In accord with the definition of community development, manpower development was defined in terms of purposive actions in job creation, job training, and job placement. Three objectives were established to guide the exploration of an heuristic model for studying the manpower development process in the community context:

(1) To describe and compare communities with respect to current and past efforts in job creation, job training, and job placement.

(2) To identify and elaborate certain key issues regarding each phase of the manpower development process and the articulation and functioning of the total process.

(3) To compare the study communities with respect to the kinds of efforts and actions taken in response to the issues identified in Objective Two.

Four non-metropolitan communities in Mississippi were selected in which to conduct case studies of the manpower development process. The communities were selected on the basis of their contrasting occupational and industrial structures, racial compositions, educational and income distributions, and selected economic indices of growth.

A total of 84 key informants were selected and interviewed in the four communities. The interviewees were classified as leaders, employers, and agency representatives. Each person was asked to assess certain aspects of the manpower development process from his

perspective. Additional data were obtained from participatory observation, content analyses of documents, and from the census and training agency records.

Conclusions

The analysis chapters of this thesis have presented large amounts of data from many sources. These data have been utilized in the analyses of a number of issues ranging from the occupational structures in the communities to the impediments to placement as perceived by key informants in the communities. Each of these issues was related to the particular phase of the process to which it was most directly relevant as well as to the total process.

Although the issues covered a wide range of apparently greatly divergent topics, three themes tied the issues and their respective phases together. Hence, it was possible to refer to job creation, job training, and job placement as elements in a process rather than as separate and distinct entities. The themes and the issues relevant to them are outlined below.

I. Cross-community comparisons of the following current situations with respect to job creation, training, and placement.
   - A. Industrial and occupational structures and structural changes
   - B. Existing training programs, principal service offerings, and number and nature of participants
   - C. Reported placement rates of training agencies and hirings by employers

II. Cross-community comparisons of leadership involvement in manpower development.

A. Job creation leadership structures

B. Nature and extent of leadership involvement in job training agencies

C. Associations and agencies involved in job placement efforts

III. Rationale or strategies of manpower development efforts.

A. Cross-community comparisons of the following issues:

1. Nature and extent of the articulation of job creation rationales

2. Degree to which training programs are relevant to community needs

3. Degree of coordination among training agencies

B. Perceived impediments to placement

C. Objectives of job training in slack job markets

D. Training, placement, and mobility among lower skilled individuals

Two key notions underlie the above delineation. These are the related notions of structure and strategy. Roughly, the issues listed above under the first two themes are structural. Industrial and occupational structures, occupational socialization structures, and leadership structures are all a part of the process within which and through which manpower development occurs. With regard to structural considerations, the following conclusions were derived from the findings reported:

(1) Occupational and industrial structural diversity was greater in Hill and Coastal Cities than in Camellia and Delta Cities. Hill City's structure was even more diverse than Coastal City, although the latter's total employment was higher.

(2) Job training diversity was greater in Delta and Coastal Cities than in the other communities. Diversity in Coastal City was geared to meeting the labor needs of industry; in Delta programs were oriented to meeting the training needs of the unemployed and underemployed.

(3) Placement rates and reported hirings by employers were higher in Hill City and Coastal City. The greater degree of occupational diversity and greater needs for skilled and semi-skilled workers in large part accounted for these factors. Also, employers reported less disfavor with agencies in these two communities.

(4) The extent and nature of voluntary leadership in job creation and job training actions was greater in Hill, Camellia, and Delta Cities than in Coastal. The predominant leaders in job creation in Coastal City were governmental. Few leaders, voluntary or governmental, were involved in job training in Coastal.

(5) Hill and Camellia Cities were found to excell Coastal and Delta Cities in the extent to which the same leaders were active in both job creation and job training efforts. A related conclusion was that these efforts were better coordinated in these communities because of the overlap of leadership.

(6) Only in Hill City was there a non-governmental agency with job placement as a part of its objectives. The functioning of this association was partially to be credited for the ease of placement, especially of minority group members.

Strategies underlie actions. Thus, strategies of development could be said to be basic to the structures which evolve. The degree to which strategies are well articulated and reflective of rational evaluations of the means-end schema of growth might be thought to significantly affect the structures found in a community. With regard to considerations of strategy, the following conclusions were derived from the findings reported:

(1) The degree to which job creation objectives were articulated was much greater in Hill and Coastal Cities than it was in the other communities. In the latter case, however, industrial development had proceeded at a rate inconsistent with balanced growth. In the former, an evolutionary rationale has focused on a balanced growth of services with industry and has facilitated the move of people into and within the occupational structure.

(2) Although both rationales were well articulated, a wider endorsement and commitment to the goals of job creation were found in Hill City than in Coastal City. Few interviewees other than the powerful governmental leaders of industrial growth gave wholehearted endorsement to the goals of development in Coastal City. Many were outwardly negative. No such bifurcation was found in Hill City.

(3) Conclusions concerning the extent to which job training efforts mirrored the needs of the community were difficult. Coastal City's greatest needs were for skilled labor for industry; training programs were overwhelmingly oriented to these needs. The prime needs of Hill City were for skill upgrading; supplemental courses offered partially met these needs. The needs of Camellia City were more diverse and less easily identified; many job training graduates had to leave the community to find employment. The greatest needs in Delta City were for training for the unemployed and underemployed; training programs were predominantly oriented to these needs. Training without jobs, however, is of little use to the recipients. The final three strategy issues were oriented to this problem. Implications evolving from those issues will be discussed below.

One typology remains to be constructed. It will draw upon the findings and conclusions stated above and elsewhere through the thesis in forming generalizations concerning the following: (1) coordination among the phases of the manpower development process; (2) coordination of manpower development with other facets of community development; and (3) expression of local interests through manpower development.

These three indices are selected for three reasons. First, coordination of the individual phases is the essence of process; without some minimal degree of coordination the phases are separate entities

rather than elements of a process. Secondly, if manpower development is to be considered an integral part of comprehensive community development, there must be some degree of coordination between manpower development efforts and other developmental aspects in the community. Finally, manpower development which merely occurs in the community could just as effectively occur elsewhere; manpower development which is of the community expresses local interests and contributes to community solidarity.

The typology presented in Table 6-1, thus, represents a synopsis of the many typologies which have appeared in various forms throughout the thesis. They are brought together here in amanner somewhat different from that in which they first appeared. They are used in this case as indices of phenomena at a higher level of abstraction. For example, degree of leadership involvement in job training programs is relevant here in the consideration of both measures of coordination. Similarly, nature and extent of industrial and occupational structural change is crucial in all three measures.

Table 6-1. Grand Typology of Manpower Development in the Study Communities

Dimension	Hill	Camellia	Delta	Coastal
Coordination of Manpower Development	High	Moderate	Low-Moderate	Moderate
Coordination between Manpower Development and other Community Aspects	High	Moderate	Moderate	Low
Degree of Local Interest Expressed Through Manpower Development	High	Moderate	Low-Moderate	Low

The communities are presented in Table 6-1 from left to right in order of the degree of coordination and local interest expression through manpower development. The following summaries support these conclusions:

(1) Essentially the same actors were involved in both job creation and job training coordination in Hill and Camellia Cities, while in Delta City the involvement of job creation leaders in job training was just beginning. Little or no evidence of leaders' involvement in both job creation and job training was found in Coastal City.

(2) The leaders involved in job creation and job training in Hill City were among the most active in the community in many other interest areas. Also, Hill City was exceptional in that it alone was found to have had any kind of special activity to coordinate manpower development efforts with government, welfare, housing, and other interest areas. Somewhat less broad representation of interest areas was found among manpower development leaders in Camellia and Delta Cities. For Coastal City, industrial development has occurred in a fashion which has proven detrimental to efforts in other interest areas; hence, growth has been antithetical to coordination.

(3) Local interests were expressed in Hill City manpower development through the creation of jobs in such fashion that local skills and needs are best utilized and served; training programs are not numerous, yet are oriented to the needs of the community. Hence, manpower development is of the community rather than merely operating in it. The converse is true in Coastal City -- especially with respect to industrial growth. While industry has provided jobs for local people, the burdens of untaxed industrial growth have been acutely felt in terms of government services of all types and have offset much of whatever good it has brought. Development, thus, has occurred <u>in</u> the community, but comprehensive development <u>of</u> the community has not concomitantly occurred.

Thus, the degree to which manpower development is (1) an integrated process, (2) an integral part of comprehensive development, and (3) locally oriented has been found to vary from one community to another. The implications which these conclusions spawn follow.

Implications

Two characteristics of this study create an interesting situation from which to evolve implications. First, as an exploratory study, it has purposely raised more questions than it has answered. Secondly, because its base has been distributed between the conceptual and pragmatic levels, implications to be derived from the study are distributed over a wide range of levels -- theoretical, methodological, and social action.

With respect to the first characteristic, the following questions are exemplary. This model has lifted up three major themes and relevant issues which serve to tie the phases of the process together; but, are there others? Also, are there other phases which need to be included in the process? For example, are there antecedents to job creation which should be included as a phase which precedes job creation in the process? What kind of industrial mix is most conducive to comprehensive development, and at what rate should growth occur if it is to facilitate comprehensive development? A principal methodological question raised concerns attempts at making similar studies in many communities. To what extent are survey techniques amenable to this type of study and to what extent must the case study be employed? Would some mix of these two be most efficient and reliable?

Some of the more interesting questions raised by this study have been enumerated. They indicate the diversity of focus ranging from theory to social action. There is a wide range of general observations derived from this study, each of which has a range of

implications for theory, research, and social action. For example, from what additional perspectives should the manpower development process be studied? Leaders, major employers, and agency representatives have their perspectives, but so also do other community members. Recent graduates of training programs, the unemployed, smaller employers, experienced workers, and other groups found in any community each has its perspective. Members of many of these groups are the ones most vulnerable to change in occupational and industrial structures. They also are those most closely affected by job training policies and programs.

Another implication for theory and action is the existence of high levels of unskilled unemployed and underemployed people in communities with low rates of occupational structural growth. Quality industry is not inclined to join a stagnant community, and there is little reason to train the unskilled if there is no immediate or foreseeable prospects for employment. The frustrating consequences of encouraging already-high aspirations by providing skills not translatable into jobs are obvious. Add to this the unacceptability of spatial mobility to many people (even if jobs are assured), and the problems for local manpower development and other leaders are greatly compounded.

A finding of this study which is highly significant at the action level was that employers were not making wide use of formal job training agencies for placement. Whether the employers' general assessments of the programs were accurate or not is not the important consideration. What is important for agency representatives and

leaders is that much money is being wasted in training if the graduates are not being placed. Two factors seem to impede the use by employers of agencies services: lack of acceptance and lack of jobs.

In the former instance, acceptance of employers' requests by agencies and acceptance of agencies' services by employers may evolve from mutual understanding of each group's needs and abilities. Understanding, in turn, often is a by-product of communication. Communication is facilitated by meetings of committees, voluntary associations, and the like in which agency representatives, leaders and employers engage in frank and open debate. Attendance at one such meeting in Delta City leads the author to suspect that subsequent such meetings would become increasingly less hostile and that genuine communication lines could eventually be established.

The second factor, lack of jobs, is more difficult to combat. In areas of excess labor over employment needs, those people playing leadership roles in job training seem to be faced with at least three alternative strategies. First, they can suspend training altogether in the community and divert the funds to those areas where skill training is needed by industry. Secondly, training programs might be oriented strictly to the employee up-grading needs of local firms by offering supplemental courses. Finally, a majority of service offerings may be oriented toward local needs with the rest being devoted to the needs of a dominant industry in the state or region.

In employing the latter strategy, attention must be given the fact that, for significant numbers of Americans at all levels of

stratification, migration is not an acceptable alternative to unemployment or underemployment. Thus, enrollees in programs designed for employment in another section of the state or region must be carefully screened for willingness to migrate. In addition, social agencies of all types must provide more than financial support in assisting migrating families. The needs of such people as "social animals" must also be met. The establishment of primary relationships in the new community must be facilitated, as must the intracacies of living in different, often more complex, surroundings.

Finally, the coordination of the structures and strategies of manpower development as an integral phase of comprehensive community development has been emphasized in this thesis. The interaction of representatives of many different interest areas is crucial in this coordinative process. Communities have been shown to vary in the extent to which such interaction is achieved. But, the interdisciplinary nature of manpower development must be seen in a broader context. State and national leaders involved in the various phases must become involved in coordinative interaction and strategy planning. Action efforts might then take on a coordinated appearance from top to bottom.

One level remains in the discussion of the coordination of efforts. What is called for at the academic level are coordinated efforts by economists, sociologists, educationists, political scientists, communication specialists, and management specialists of various persuasions. Conceptual models must be developed and tested. Methodological tools must be found which facilitate the testing of models and the derivation of reliable conclusions and valid implications. Conceptual and methodological contributions of this nature can, it seems, be best done through inputs from many perspectives.

Recommendations

The implications stated above find expression in many forms. Recommendations for further theoretical and methodological refinement could be drawn. The focus of the following statements, however, is at the action level. That is, they point up changes needed in current manpower development practices, specifically those directly involving vocational education. In some cases the generic term "job training agencies" is used to point up the need for all such efforts to be altered in a specified way. In other instances vocational education will be singled out.

1. Job training agencies must come to know each other and be aware of each other's service offerings. Knowledge of programs is a requisite step toward avoidance of duplication and overlap of efforts.

2. Members of the so-called "power structure" must be aware of job training programs in the local community. Their acceptance of, and support for, such programs is a must; therefore, they must be aware of what the programs are doing.

3. Increased efforts should be made at including community leaders and major employers on advisory councils and executive committees. If they feel they are having an input in program formation, they are more inclined to support the programs.

4. Formal evaluation procedures of secondary and post-secondary vo-tech centers should include a well-conceived section requesting information from local employers. The present form includes a brief section on liason with employers which can be answered by the local vo-tech director, without ever going into the community. Local employers, representing a range of occupational skill needs should be interviewed. Among other things, the following should be asked: (1) nature and extent of utilization of the services of vo-tech education; (2) reasons for lack of use, or evaluation of services in meeting their needs; (3) evaluation of the relationship between vocational education and local employers; (4) what they feel to be the most important role for vocational education in meeting local needs.

5. Advisory and craft committees must be given more responsibility than is currently the case. A number of members of such committees reported that they met only once per year to approve plans of work. Others reportedly lost interest because when program changes were needed and suggested, they were seldom, if ever, made. No better link between employers and vo-tech departments can be made than through such committees, if they are made to feel needed and important. Otherwise, committees are disadvantageous.

6. Administrative and fiscal flexibility at the local level should be maximized. Local training needs sometimes change dramatically in a matter of weeks. Employers cannot accommodate the long delays which often intervene between needs identification and program initiation. As a result, they lose faith in the program and often times find that they can do their own training without outside assistance.

7. In a related vein, if there are skills which are needed in a locale but are not on the approved list of course offerings (e.g., serving machine operators), some provision should be made to alter the restrictions to provide such training. If there are people who need to work and there are job openings in legitimate, well-paid jobs, vo-tech education should help get them together.

8. Courses should be sufficiently flexible in scheduling to allow for easy entry and exit throughout the year. Employers indicate that a large number of trainees coming out of training at one time does not help in filling vacancies which come open during the year.

9. Job training agencies operating in areas of low employment levels (both in terms of numbers and degree of skill required) must do a more thorough job of defining their roles in the community. Should they train people for local jobs in which they have little or no chance of being placed? Or should students be trained for more numerous jobs in other parts of the state and assist them in migrating to the jobs? Or, is some combination best?

10. Upper-level administrators of vocational education should be encouraged to finance more interdisciplinary research, symposia, and other learning experiences. Many social science and technological fields have much interface with vocational

education and have knowledge and research expertise which complement that of vocational educators.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRES USED IN KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

General Schedule

1. Date _____ 2. County _____ 3. Schedule No. ____

4. Respondent Name and Position _____

_____

5. How long have you held this position? _____

6. What actions have you taken in the last five years to enhance the overall development of this community or area? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC PROJECTS WORKED ON AND COMMITTEES SERVED ON).

7. What, specifically, have you done to enhance the expansion of employment opportunities? (PROBE FOR ALL TYPES OF JOBS, NOT JUST INDUSTRY AND FOR ACTIVITIES ON COMMITTEES, ETC.).

8. What have you done to improve the effectiveness of the total job training effort in this community? (PROBE FOR ACTIONS ON PROJECTS, MEMBERSHIP ON COMMITTEE, ETC.).

9. Who else has been active in development in this community or area? (NAMES AND POSITIONS).

10. Who, specifically, has been active in the expansion of employment opportunities?

11. What should be the overall objectives of community or area development? (IF MORE THAN ONE ASK RESPONDENT TO RANK THEM). (PROBE FOR MEANINGS OF SUCH TERMS AS "GROWTH," "COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT," ETC.).

12. What, specifically, should be the objectives of employment opportunities expansion? (PROBE FOR CONCEPTION OF BALANCED EMPLOYMENT AMONG INDUSTRIES AND OTHER CATEGORIES, ALSO BALANCE IN TERMS OF SKILL LEVELS REQUIRED, SEX, EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, ETC.).

13. What do you feel should be the objectives of job training in the development of this community or area? (PROBE FOR IDENTIFICATION OF PRINCIPAL BENEFACTORS AND OF THE PLACE OF JOB TRAINING IN RELATING EMPLOYERS TO THE POPULATION).

14. Do you think these attitudes are generally held by other community leaders? _____ How extensively have they been discussed by leaders? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC COMMENTS RELATIVE TO QUESTIONS 11, 12, and 13).

15. In terms of development, what would you like for your community to look like in 1981? (PROBE FOR GENERAL AND SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF DEVELOPMENT, NOT JUST JOB DEVELOPMENT).

16. Which of the following agencies operate in this community and what are their most important service offerings to the residents of the community? (SPECIFY PRIME BENEFACTORS - CLIENTELE OR EMPLOYERS). (PROBE FOR LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE OF EACH).

a. Public high school vocational department. Yes___ No___ Don't know___

Services_____

_____

b. Junior College. Yes___ No___ Don't know___

Services_____

_____

c. Community Action Agency. Yes___ No___ Don't know___

Services_____

_____

d. Employment Security Commission. Yes___ No___ Don't know___

Services_____

_____

e. STAR, Inc. Yes___ No___ Don't know___

Services_____

_____

f. Commercial training schools. Yes___ No___ Don't know___

Courses offered_____

_____

g. Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. Yes___ No___ Don't know___

Services_____

_____

h. Are there others?_____

_____

17. What committees, agencies, actions, projects, or other attempts have been made in this community to accomplish cooperation among and between any of the following groups: the unemployed and underemployed, community leaders, job training agencies, and current and prospective employers. (GET AS MUCH DETAIL ON EACH ITEM AS POSSIBLE TO INCLUDE: When, Who Involved, What Was Done, Who Were the Prime Benefactors, Degree of Success).

18. What should be the role(s) of the job training agencies in this community? (PROBE FOR CONSEQUENCES FOR DEVELOPMENT -- BOTH ECONOMIC AND HUMAN RESOURCES).

19. Do you feel that these roles are being adequately fulfilled? ____
(IF YES) Please cite me some examples.
(IF NO) In what ways are they failing to do so? Please be as explicit as possible.

20. Who primarily determines the training needs in this community?

Training agencies alone	____ (1)
Employers	____ (2)
Jointly by agencies and employers	____ (3)
Don't know	____ (9)

21. In your opinion, how should this be done?

22. Who primarily sets the standards for training in this community?

Training agencies alone	____ (1)
Employers	____ (2)
Jointly by both	____ (3)
Don't know	____ (9)

23. How should this be done?

24. Who primarily designs the training programs in this community?

Training agencies alone	____ (1)
Employers	____ (2)
Jointly by both	____ (3)
Don't know	____ (9)

25. How should this be done?

26. In considering all the factors involved in attracting new industries, firms, or services, where in the priority of importance does the consideration of the training needs, capabilities, and potentialities of the community come in? (e.g., top priority, secondary priority, after all else has been considered). (PROBE FOR OTHER CONSIDERATIONS AND THEIR RELATIVE IMPORTANCE).

27. Is there a committee or other organization in this community which has as a responsibility the coordination of job training and related programs? Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
(IF YES) What is its name?

If a committee, what is its parent organization?_____

What agencies or groups are represented in it?_____

_____

What are its functions?

How effective has it been in bringing these elements of the community together?

(IF NO) Do you feel that such a committee might be worthwhile in this community? Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
What might be its functions?

Employers Supplement

1. Date_____ 2. County_____ 3. Schedule No.___

4. Firm Name_____

5. Respondent's Name_____

6. Respondent's Position
   Are you the:

Owner/Manager	_____	(1)
Assistant Manager	_____	(2)
Personnel Director	_____	(3)
Other (Specify)	_____	(4)

   _____

7. How long have you served your firm in this capacity in this community?

Less than one year	_____	(1)
1- 5 years	_____	(2)
6-10 years	_____	(3)
11 or more years	_____	(4)

   (IF LESS THAN ONE YEAR TOTAL SERVICE WITH THE FIRM IN THIS COMMUNITY, TERMINATE INTERVIEW).

8. What is your firm's major product or service?_____

9. How many people do you employ in sub-professional fields (i.e., those below the managerial and upper administration levels)?

None	_____	(0)
1- 49	_____	(1)
50- 99	_____	(2)
100-149	_____	(3)
150-199	_____	(4)
200-249	_____	(5)
250-299	_____	(6)
300-349	_____	(7)
350-399	_____	(8)
400 or more	_____	(9)

   NOW I AM GOING TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MAJOR SKILL REQUIREMENTS OF YOUR FIRM AND THE PERSONNEL FILLING THEM. (Include those which comprise approximately 75 percent or more of the work force).

10. What are they?

11. What percentage of your total work force is employed in each one?

12. For each of these skill areas, what are the minimum educational and training requirements for entry into your firm as that level? (PROBE FOR OTHER ENTRY STIPULATIONS WHICH THEY MIGHT HAVE).

13. What percentage of those people employed in each skill receive their training for that job in the following ways? (SHOW CARD ONE).
    a. Apprenticeship training
    b. High school vocational course (either local or area)
    c. Junior college vocational course
    d. On-the-job with MDTA support
    e. Some other job training program
    f. On-the-job at firm's expense
    g. Similar job in another firm

14. Are there now, or have there been within the last two years, job training programs available in this community which provide training in these skill areas?
    Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)

15. (IF YES) Have you ever used any of their services?

16. On the average, how many people in each of these skills do you need each year?

16a. From what sources do you normally recruit people in these skill areas? (SHOW CARD TWO).

NOW I AM GOING TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY WHICH PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT TRAINING.

17. Approximately what percentage of your employees do you hire from job training agencies in the community?

None	_____ (0)
1- 9%	_____ (1)
10-19	_____ (2)
20-29	_____ (3)
30-49	_____ (4)
50 or more	_____ (5)
Don't know	_____ (9)

(IF NONE, SKIP TO 22. IF ONE OR MORE, ANSWER 18-21).

18. Which agency's trainees have you employed? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY).

High School	_____ (1)
Junior college	_____ (2)
CAA	_____ (3)
STAR	_____ (4)
ESC	_____ (5)
BAT	_____ (6)
Community training	_____ (7)
Vocational rehabilitation	_____ (8)

19. In general, how pleased would you say that you have been with these employees?

Very pleased	____ (1)
Pleased	____ (2)
Displeased	____ (3)
Very displeased	____ (4)
Don't know	____ (9)

20. What have been some of their particular strengths and weaknesses, if any? (ENCOURAGE TO NAME AGENCY SOURCES).

Strengths:

Weaknesses:

21. Based on your previous experience with job training programs in the community, would you say that they are adequately meeting the needs of:

a. Business and industry
Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)

b. The unemployed and underemployed
Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)

c. Overall community development
Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)

(IF NONE EMPLOYED, ANSWER 22).

22. What are the reasons for your never having employed any of the trainees? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY).

Never had any referred to me or to apply for job	____ (1)
Inadequate educational level	____ (2)
Insufficient skill training	____ (3)
Improperly trained for my needs	____ (4)

(GET SPECIFICS)_____

Other (Specify)_____

23. Do you know if any of the job training agencies have committees which advise them on training needs, program content, shop equipment, instructor qualifications, or others? (IF YES) Which agencies? (IF YES, ASK QUESTION 24).

24. Have you or any member of your firm ever been asked to serve on any of these committees? Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
(IF YES) Which agency(ies)?

In what capacity did you serve?

What were your duties in this capacity?

(IF NO) Do you personally know anyone who has served on such a committee? Who?

25. Has your firm ever been asked to participate in manpower or skill requirements survey? Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
(IF YES) Please give the agency(ies) conducting the surveys and their approximate dates.

What was the nature of the information requested?

(IF NO) Have any training agencies ever contacted you about your training needs and requirements? Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9) (IF YES) What was the nature of the information requested?

26. Has your firm ever been asked to assist any of the job training agencies in any way?

(IF YES) Which agency(ies) and in what ways?

27. Has your firm ever voluntarily offered any services, personnel or equipment to any of the job training agencies?

(IF YES) Get details.

28. In terms of firm expansion, are the job training programs in this community adequate to meet the additional manpower requirements which your firm would experience? Yes___ (1) No___ (2)
Don't know___ (9)
(IF NO) What else would you need?

29. What about other firms with which you are familiar?

30. In terms of the labor supply in this community, would you advise or influence new industries, firms, or services to enter this community? Yes___ (1) No___ (2)
What are the most significant positive aspects of the local labor supply?

What are its most significant limitations?

31. Are the job training agencies in the community sufficient to meet the needs for additional trained manpower of new employers?
Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
(IF NO) What else is needed to attract new employers?

32. Have you or any member of your firm ever served on the local Industrial Development Committee? Yes___ (1) No___ (2)
Don't know___ (9)
(IF YES) Are you currently serving? (Or other firm member, if appropriate). How, if at all, has this committee attempted to integrate job training with industrial expansion?

33. How would you evaluate the relationship between employers and the job training agencies in this community? (PROBE FOR THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF TRAINING AGENCIES TO BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES. ALSO, FOR PERCEPTION OF PRINCIPAL BENEFACTORS OF AGENCY PROGRAMS).

34. What can the job training agencies do to improve their services to employers?

35. What can employers do to help improve the job training services?

Agency Supplement

1. Date_____ 2. County_____ 3. Schedule No.____

4. Respondent Name_____

5. Agency Name_____

6. Agency Address_____

7. Respondent's Position
Are you the:

Director	_____ (1)
Assistant or Associate Director	_____ (2)
Guidance Counselor	_____ (3)
Teacher (Specify what subject matter area)	_____ (4)
Other Staff Member (Specify)	_____ (5)

8. How long have you held your current position in this organization?
_____Years

9. How long has this agency been operating in this community? ___Years

10. What is the primary purpose of your agency? (IF other than occupational training approximate rank of this function with respect to other purposes).

11. Which of the following best describes the geographical area served by your agency?

School district	_____ (1)
More than one school district (No.)	_____ (2)
Community	_____ (3)
County	_____ (4)
More than one county	_____ (5)

Specify what counties_____

_____

If more than one county, specify whether it is:

Junior college district	_____ (6)
CAA area	_____ (7)
MESC region	_____ (8)
Other (Specify)_____	_____ (9)

12. How is your agency financed? (NOTE: If multiple sources, indicate percent of total from each source).

	Percent
Local contributions	_____ (1)
Local taxes	_____ (2)
State funds	_____ (3)
Federal funds	_____ (4)
Other (Specify)_____	_____ (5)

13. Who approves your plan of work and to what extent does that person or agency allow you flexibility to tailor your program to meet the needs of local people? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC EXAMPLES).

14. Which of the following best describes your current funding level:
Adequate for meeting the goals set for the foreseeable future _____ (1)
Adequate to meet present needs and objectives, but not those being considered in future planning _____ (2)
Inadequate for current needs and objectives _____ (3)

(IF INADEQUATE, ANSWER NO. 15; IF ADEQUATE GO TO NO. 16).

15. In the absence of adequate funds, what purposes or objectives go unmet?

16. How would you classify your clientele in terms of social and economic make-up? (MENTION: AGE, SEX, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL STATUS). Please give me approximate percentages of each age-sex, etc. category.

17. Does your organization have either a board of directors or separate craft committee for each of the skills offered?
Neither _____ (0)
Board of Directors _____ (1)
Craft Committee _____ (2)
Both _____ (3)

(IF YES) Would it be possible for you to provide me with a list of the names of these members?
Yes___ No___ Will mail___ Can pick up later___

(IF THE ORGANIZATION HAS NO ADVISORY OR CRAFT COMMITTEE, SKIP TO 20).

18. How often does your craft or advisory committee(s) meet?
Less than once a year _____ (1)
Once a year _____ (2)
2- 6 times a year _____ (3)
7-11 times a year _____ (4)
Monthly or more _____ (5)
Don't know _____ (9)

19. What are the duties or functions of the committee(s)?

20. If you do not have such a committee, do you feel such a committee might be beneficial to your program?
Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
(IF YES) How?
(IF NO) Why not?

21. Which of the following best describes the services which you provide for the people you serve? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY) (SHOW CARD ONE)

a. ABE/GED ____
b. General skill training ____
c. Highly specialized training ____
d. Institutionalized teaching ____
e. OJT ____
f. Transportation to work or training ____

Work experience:

g. full-time ____
h. part-time ____
i. Medical, dental, and/or other physical or mental rehabilitative services ____

Counseling:

j. vocational ____
other ____
k. Job placement ____
l. After-placement follow-up ____
m. Other supportive services (Specify)_____

22. Of those services checked in question no. 21, which has (have) the highest priority in your operation?_____

23. Are the services named in question no. 22 those most needed by your dominant clientele? If no, what are they?

24. How do those people needing your services come to know about your agency?

25. What other agencies operating in this community provide any of the employment-related services in question 21? (CHECK ALL APPLICABLE).

(1) Committee Action Agency ____
(2) STAR, Inc. ____
(3) Employment Security ____
(4) Public high school ____
(5) Junior college ____
(6) Vocational Rehabilitation (Allied Enterprises) ____
(7) Other (Specify)_____

26. For each skill you train in your organization, please give me the following information: (FOR EACH, ASK FOR A COPY OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM OR CURRICULUM) No skill taught ____ (0)

Skill Area	Level of training (entry, advancement, etc.)	Number of trainees (last 2 years)	What is the best source of employment for these graduates?

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR ORGANIZATION'S RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE COMMUNITY.

27. Do you, or any member of your organization belong to the Industrial Development Committee (or its equivalent) of the local Chamber of Commerce? Yes___ (1) No___ (2) No, but attend some or most of the meetings? ___ (3) (IF YES) What function do you perform in it?

28. Do you or any member of your agency consult with local employers about any of the following?
    a. Desired work habits of trainees?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    b. Desired educational level of trainees?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    c. Skill level desired of prospective employee?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    d. Projected manpower needs?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    e. Any other area of information relative to your program?

29. How helpful to you is this kind of information (Q. 28) in setting up your programs? (LOOKING FOR AN ATTITUDE TOWARD THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY, NOT MERELY A FACTUAL ANSWER).

30. Is your agency ever consulted relative to services available to new businesses of industries or to existing ones in expansion?

    _____

    (IF YES) What is the nature of the consultation?
    (IF NO) Do you feel that you should be? Why?

31. How do you handle the problem of placement of your trainees?
    a. Who is responsible for placement?
    b. How is it done? (What is the procedure and structure?)
    c. Are jobs sought prior to the trainee's completion of training or is there characteristically a lag between training and first job?
    d. Is placement a major concern of your agency? If not, whose?
    e. Who employs most of your graduates?

32. How successful are you in terms of: (ASK FOR DATA, WHERE AVAILABLE).
    a. Percentage of trainees placed?
    b. Placement locally or out of area?
    c. Placement in skill trained for or in some other?
    d. Rate of turnover of trainees after employment?

(NOTE: FOR EACH YES RESPONSE ON THE FOLLOWING GET THE FOLLOWING DETAILS: NAME OF OTHER AGENCIES INVOLVED, APPROXIMATE DATE, NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP, WHO INITIATED THE RELATIONSHIP, WAS THE RELATIONSHIP REQUIRED AS A MATTER OF LAW, POLICY, OR CONTRACT, WHO WERE THE PRIME BENEFACTORS).

33. Please tell me if your agency has engaged in any of the following relationships with any other agencies or organizations in the community:
    a. Loaned or received staff personnel?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    b. Met in conference of jointly served on committees?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    c. Referred or received clients to or from them?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    d. Shared joint facilities?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    e. Exchanged newsletters or other regular correspondence?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    f. Exchanged, temporarily or permanently, any non-human resources? (e.g., funds, services, tools, equipment, teaching materials, etc).
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    g. Exchanged labor force information?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)
    h. Planned and participated in a joint activity or project?
       Yes___ (1) No___ (2) Don't know___ (9)

34. Are there agencies in the community with which you have experienced difficulty in cooperative relations? _____ (IF YES, GET NAMES AND DETAILS). Why?

35. Which agencies have you found to be easy to work cooperatively with? (NAMES AND DETAILS). Why?

36. In general, how would you classify the relationship between the agencies involved primarily in job training in this community? (PROBE FOR RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OTHER AGENCIES, NOT JUST OWN).

37. How would you evaluate the relationship between employers and the job training agencies in this community?

38. What can the job training agencies do to improve their services to employers?

39. What can employers do to help improve the job training services?

40. What can job training agencies do to improve their services to the unemployed and underemployed of the community?

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